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PREVENTING CRIME  
*A Symposium*



# PREVENTING CRIME

## *A Symposium*

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SHELDON AND ELEANOR GLUECK

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## PREFACE

The notion of gathering representative illustrations of the various types of crime-preventive work being carried on in the United States grew out of a desire to acquaint ourselves more fully with the nature and details of such efforts. Following the publication of our "One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents,"<sup>1</sup> the question was frequently raised as to how the stream of cases flowing into the juvenile courts of the country might be cut down by the discovery and treatment of problem children before they had become seriously delinquent. This naturally led to a search for crime-preventive experiments already well under way and has resulted in the assembling of the chapters brought together in this volume.

A careful search of the professional journals in which such experiments might be recorded or referred to (the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, the reports of the American Prison Association and the National Probation Association, the Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, the *Journal of Sociology*, and others) furnished a basis of orientation about work already sufficiently under way and evidently recognized by professional groups as being on the whole sound, earnest, and constructive. The information thus collected, supplemented by knowledge of certain experimental crime-preventive efforts brought to our attention by criminologists and others in various parts of the country, together with our personal knowledge of certain preventive programs, has guided us in the selection of the contributions to this symposium.

This book does not, of course, record all the crime-prevention experiments going on in the United States, but it does include promising and representative ones. In assembling them in one volume, our interest has been not so much in the details of the operation of these programs as in the principles which underlie them and the variety of approaches to the task of preventing delinquency.

<sup>1</sup> Volume I of *Harvard Law School Survey of Crime in Boston*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1934.

The title of this book is, frankly, optimistic. Some may even regard it as unduly so. Perhaps a more accurate, though also more cumbersome, designation would have been "Promising Efforts to Prevent Delinquency and Criminality." We chose the shorter title for convenience. Only time and objective evaluative research can determine the extent to which the programs described in this volume are actually preventing delinquency and criminality.

To insure reasonable uniformity in the structure and content of these contributions we sent to each author the following syllabus for guidance in the preparation of his paper:

I. Evidence of the need. On the basis of what factual researches, or other evidence, is the program you are describing founded? What is the major principle involved? For instance, those writing on some community approach to crime prevention may wish to stress the need of counteracting community disintegration and of obtaining greater efficiency through a plan of cooperation between various social agencies each of which has its special approach to the general problems presented by delinquency and crime and their prevention. Those writing on recreational programs will probably stress the basic importance of constructive use of leisure time and the like.

II. Distinguish your program and technique from similar or related work elsewhere.

III. How was the plan you describe organized? Here include questions of auspices, leadership, work through committees, education and propaganda, and the like. How was it and is it being financed?

IV. Please describe the actual technique of your program—"how the plan works"—including particularly the sources of the cases handled in your program. This should, of course, form the body of your article.

V. Has an auditing system been established whereby "success" and "failure" can be systematically measured? If so, please describe it; if not, discuss its need. Please include evidence thus far obtained of the effectiveness of your program, including, if space permits, brief illustrative case-history summaries.

VI. Discuss any other features of the plan you are describing that may not have been included in the foregoing suggestions, such as your views regarding the division of labor in crime-preventive enterprises, financing as between private and public agencies, and the like.

This syllabus was of course not intended to bind contributors either to the content or to the form of their papers. Hence, in the introduction to the syllabus the following note appeared:

This outline is merely suggestive; differences in point of view of contributors will suggest variations in emphasis. It is hoped, however, that the general topics will be followed by all contributors, for the convenience of the reader who may wish to make comparisons.

The articles were carefully read and edited, and with two or three exceptions the contributors were asked to make revisions, deletions, or additions, or to approve a rewriting by the editors. The editors are exceedingly grateful to those who have contributed articles to this symposium and deeply appreciate their full cooperation in the revisions deemed appropriate.

It is with high regard that we salute the devoted men and women who are so patiently, understandingly, and critically guiding preventive work. Their efforts are but a drop in the bucket, however, considering the extent and ramifications of the crime problem in the United States, and need to be intelligently extended in other communities. To this task civic-spirited citizens must bend their energies, if preventing crime is to become a highly effective enterprise. It is our sincere hope, however, that hand in hand with any expansion of crime-preventive efforts will go a pragmatic testing of the results of various programs and techniques in terms of reducing delinquency. It is only in this way that crime-preventive work can be constantly redirected into ever more promising channels.

The completion of this volume has been saddened by the passing of three of the contributors—Mrs. Mabel Riebel, of the Domestic Relations Court of Franklin County, Ohio; the forward-looking Judge Erwin V. Mahaffey in collaboration with whom Mrs. Riebel prepared the chapter on the Parental Education Program of that court; and Dr. Nathan Peyser, a devoted leader and pioneer in the education of problem children. They have made worthy contributions to this volume.

E. T. G.  
S. G.

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS,  
*May, 1936.*



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# PREVENTING CRIME

## *Chapter I*

### INTRODUCTION—PHILOSOPHY AND PRINCIPLES OF CRIME PREVENTION

SHELDON AND ELEANOR GLUECK

#### I. CRIME PREVENTION AND CRIME CAUSATION

The policy of controlling fires by merely putting out the flames and sitting back to await more fires is rapidly being abandoned as shortsighted and wasteful. Study of the causes of fires, and the development of preventive programs, are becoming essential activities of the modern fire department. In relation to the control of delinquency and crime, however, society has not progressed much beyond the stage of putting out the flames. It has waited for violations of law and then bent its efforts to pursuing, arresting, prosecuting, and punishing offenders without giving much thought to the elimination of the forces that produced them and continue to produce thousands like them.

The analogy between fire control and crime prevention is, to be sure, an imperfect one. To classify causes of fire into improper electric wiring, accumulation of oily waste materials, careless storing of gasoline, and the like, is a simple matter compared to ascertaining the causes of delinquency and crime. In dealing with crime we are concerned with a very complex phenomenon involving the interplay of biologic handicaps, subtle human motivations, and often unmeasurable social and economic factors. It is usually very difficult to assign proper weight to any single factor or group of factors in the causal complex, not to stress the obstacles to ascertaining all the active elements. It is often very difficult, also, to determine which factor in a pattern of criminogenic forces should be given primacy. There is, moreover, the probability that certain groups of factors are causally oper-

ative in the career of one type of individual, others in another. This does not mean that increasing scientific precision is not highly desirable in criminologic research but it recognizes the imperfection of knowledge in respect to the etiology of antisocial behavior. Criminology unfortunately is not an exact science.

But since we know relatively little about the forces and mechanisms in crime causation, how can we prevent crime?

We know enough about the conditioning factors of delinquency and criminality in a general way to justify any efforts that give reasonable promise of success. For example, we know that a large proportion of delinquents and criminals come from homes that are either in dire poverty or in constant hazard of becoming so. It is true that many poor people do not commit crimes and that, therefore, economic insecurity is not always a cause of wrongdoing. Still, given poverty plus some other condition such as mental deficiency, the chances are multiplied that this pattern will become causative of delinquency and criminality. And given poverty, plus mental deficiency, plus residence in a crowded slum area with ample opportunity for wrongdoing and a tradition of antisocial conduct, the chances are still further multiplied. And so with the cumulation of other factors frequently present in the careers of offenders.

In other words, we know that a complex of factors is usually associated with criminality, although we may not know the exact interaction of elements in the complex. We are therefore justified in assuming that if we made a many-sided attack on the factors commonly found in the careers of offenders, our efforts would reduce the number of recruits to the criminal army. This is true even though it be granted at the outset that if such a many-sided attack on the mass of factors associated with delinquency and crime did result in a reduction of wrongdoing, it would be difficult to say which one of the destroyed factors, or which element in the preventive program, has contributed the most to the happy outcome.

Returning to the analogy to fire prevention, most of the places where inflammables are stored will never burn, and in many instances an intervening influence between the inflammables and the conflagration is necessary. But where combustibles are present, the danger of fire is greatly increased. The implication for crime-preventive efforts seems clear. The more "inflam-

mables" (such as poverty, broken and distorted home life, badly occupied leisure time, culture conflict, and the like) that can be removed from the environment of childhood and youth, the less possibility is there of criminalistic conflagration. The exact manner of the relationship of such factors to misconduct cannot always be determined. The relationship may not necessarily be either inevitable or direct, but merely one that is predisposing in a proportion of the cases or that is several steps removed from the factor which is the direct source of criminalistic behavior. But such facts, while rendering crime preventive efforts more difficult and wasteful than they would be if we knew more about causation, do not make them hopeless.

The removing of criminogenic combustibles depends upon community and societal planning in the social and economic realms. But there is another aspect to the matter—that which is concerned with the translation of criminogenic inflammables into the fire of delinquency and crime, or the transformation of conditions into causes; this involves the mechanisms of human psychology. Here mental hygiene and psychotherapy must play the chief roles in crime prevention. The more complicated and difficult modern industrialized life becomes, the greater will be the task to be performed by those concerned with teaching human beings to meet their difficulties in a healthy and satisfying yet law-abiding manner. Since much of our civilization consists increasingly of "inflammables," crime-preventive programs ought to stress means of avoiding fires (delinquency and crime) in a highly combustible (criminogenic) world.

We know, then, that the task of society in coping with delinquency and criminality is complex. We know that it involves a systematic, continuous attack on all fronts of social and biologic pathology. We know that included in the complex of forces in which delinquent attitudes and behavior are generated are not only those agencies specially set up to deal with violations of the criminal code, but practically all social institutions: the state, community, home, school, recreational center, church, welfare agency. By increasing the effectiveness of these agencies in accordance with suggestions derived from the life histories of predelinquents, delinquents and criminals, we ought to make headway in reducing crime. Moreover, by a planful trial-and-error method that takes into account the undesirable traits and

backgrounds found in the careers of offenders, by a recording of the situation before the preventive program is established, and thereafter, and by control of as many variables as possible we should approach nearer the truth about causal mechanisms.

It is worthy of note that in the field of medicine much good was accomplished before the causal problem had been solved.<sup>1</sup> Until Edward Jenner's discovery of smallpox vaccination in 1798, smallpox took a heavy toll in disfiguration and death. Jenner's great contribution gave a method of controlling that disease, even though the specific etiology of smallpox has to this day not been definitely established. Similarly, the efficacy of quinine in the treatment of fever was known to the Peruvian Indians for centuries before the significance of the connection was determined. Cinchona bark was introduced into Europe by the Jesuits in 1632. Soon thereafter it was used by Sydenham, enabling him to differentiate malarial from nonmalarial fevers on the basis of the therapeutic response to treatment with quinine. Yet the cause of malaria was not known until 1880, when the French army surgeon, Laveran, discovered and described the malarial parasites in the red blood cells. Thus, during a period of some two and a half centuries, the treatment of malaria by cinchona bark and its derivatives was based exclusively upon empirical clinical evidence. To cite still another example, although the discovery by the Yellow Fever Commission of the United States Army that yellow fever is transmitted by a species of the mosquito resulted in the virtual eradication of that disease from the world, its exact etiologic agent remains unknown to this day. The search for the real villain in the piece resulted, in our own time, in the tragic death of the great Noguchi.

Obviously, therefore, exact knowledge of etiology need not always precede successful control.

On the other hand, there are certain diseases in which the etiologic agents and epidemiologic factors are quite well known—tuberculosis, gonorrhea, and syphilis, for example—yet control and eradication are still far from complete.

The analogies to medicine, like those to fire control, are of course imperfect and should not be pushed too far. But the

<sup>1</sup> We are indebted to Dr. H. O. Cozby for calling these illustrations from the field of medicine to our attention.

urgencies and reasoning that govern preventive efforts in these fields are not dissimilar to the ones involved in fighting crime.

## II. SOME PRINCIPLES OF MODERN CRIME-PREVENTION PROGRAMS

The distinguished European criminologists—Lombroso, Ferri, Garofalo, Aschaffenburg, and others—have usually couched their suggestions for crime-preventive activity in general terms. For example, Aschaffenburg says: "Every measure that helps to make the people physically, mentally, and economically healthier is a weapon in the struggle against the world of crime."<sup>2</sup> Ferri, though somewhat more concrete, was still concerned with general reforms, suggesting, for example, a number of "penal substitutes," such as free trade, freedom of emigration, reduction in the consumption of alcohol, reduction in hours of labor, and the like.<sup>3</sup> Socialistic criminologists, convinced that practically all crime is due to the private-profit system, insist that crime would virtually disappear under a socialistic regime. On the other hand, eugenists contend that most crime can be wiped out by eugenical measures. While there is some truth in both these points of view, analysis of thousands of criminal careers must force upon the careful student of crime in America a skeptical eclecticism and an experimental attitude.

However varied the crime-preventive experiments described in the following pages may be, the latter point of view seems to govern those who are administering organized programs of crime prevention in the United States. They apparently recognize that the broadest and deepest attacks upon crime are essentially beyond their control. They are therefore content to cultivate their own corners of the vineyard; to do as much good as lies within manageable territory.

In the contributions contained in this volume the reader will find very suggestive opinions on the philosophy and aims of crime-preventive activity. The following is a summary of some of the principles that appear to govern crime preventive work in the United States:

<sup>2</sup> G. ASCHAFFENBURG, "Crime and Its Repression," *Modern Criminal Science Series*, No. 6, Boston, 1913, p. 228.

<sup>3</sup> E. FERRI, "Criminal Sociology," *Modern Criminal Science Series*, No. 9, Boston, 1917, pp. 246ff.

a. *Crime-prevention programs should take into account the evidence that most criminals show definite antisocial tendencies of attitude and behavior early in childhood.* This point is stressed by practically all the contributors to this symposium. The views of Fulton, Hopkins, Keltner, Lossing, Reynolds, and Thompson may be cited as illustrations. Speaking of children residing in a delinquency area in Los Angeles, Thompson says that "here were living boys ten, twelve, fourteen years of age, who were literally marching toward the gates of San Quentin Prison." The principle above stated implies that crime-prevention programs should function as early as possible in the careers of children. As Lossing puts it, they should operate as far "up stream" as possible.<sup>4</sup>

b. *In most instances, children should be kept away from the typical contacts with police stations, courts, and correctional institutions until more scientific and sympathetic efforts have failed.* As Fulton puts it, "An official affidavit should be used only as a last resort when all other methods have failed. The respect and dignity of the court should be maintained by a reputation that court action is something which should be feared and avoided." Speaking of the organization of the Bureau of Special Service in Jersey City, Hopkins says: "The major principle involved in the new program was *prevention*. The need for keeping young people away from the hardening influences of the police station, patrol wagon, court hearings, institutional experience, was paramount in the minds of the committee." And among the methods by which the Worcester Child Guidance Clinic attempts to "help the court and the community with its problem of juvenile delinquency," Hartwell includes the treatment of "the children who will probably become delinquent, before they become delinquent enough to be brought into court or even before they present any behavior problems at all and are seen only as unhappy, maladjusted, peculiar, or neurotic children." Like opinions are expressed by Reynolds in respect to the duties of the modern school and visiting-teacher movement, and by others. Scudder points out how predelinquent children are neglected:

<sup>4</sup> A like conviction is expressed by Armstrong, Hopkins, Mertz, Reynolds' Scudder, Thrasher, and others.

Police-station records reveal hundreds of children just on the verge of trouble. Unfortunately, the police have been unable to do very much about it. New calls coming in constantly draw their attention. Unless these children are picked up again for a more serious offense the cases are forgotten. Many of these borderline behavior cases are known to every agency in the community. Too often none of us do anything until after they reach the court.

In connection with the difficulty of obtaining satisfactory results in the treatment of delinquents of long standing, Armstrong says: "The most important aspect of our crime-preventive activity is in our general work with young boys . . . before they become delinquent." Thompson puts the matter well when he says that crime-prevention programs should be concerned with "the problems of children rather than with problem children."

How children presenting behavior and temperamental difficulties may be satisfactorily treated without reference to the formal agencies of police, court, and probation office is illustrated in various contributions.

*c. An experimental attitude should govern the establishment and conduct of crime-prevention programs.* This sensible view is expressed or implied by practically all the contributors to this volume.<sup>5</sup> An experimental attitude entails the making of a thorough audit of the situation before establishing a program, the keeping of adequate records, and the making of test audits from time to time on the basis of which original techniques can be modified. The particular community's or area's or school system's problems, facilities, and criminogenic or divisive influences, as well as constructive resources, need to be determined.<sup>6</sup> The value of a follow-up system to test the results of crime-preventive efforts is recognized by practically all of the contributors. Although some express doubt as to the feasibility of an accurate audit of results, owing to inherent obstacles such as the difficulty of controlling significant variables in the situation, others give convincing illustrations of the kind of periodic checkups that are possible and helpful.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See, among others, the articles by Anderson, Hartwell, Hopkins, Lossing, and Mahaffey-Riebel.

<sup>6</sup> See contributions of Minard, Reynolds, Scudder, Thrasher, Thompson, Wagner, and others.

<sup>7</sup> See articles by Anderson, Fulton, Hartwell, Lossing, Minard, Scudder, Taber, Wagner, and others.



d. *It cannot be definitely concluded as yet that any one type of crime-preventive activity is necessarily superior to, or should be exclusive of, any other.* An experiment established in one community is not necessarily the best possible crime-preventive program for another. The kind of project to be organized in a region depends upon its particular problems, facilities, and leadership. If in one community, for example, those who conduct a boys' club have the vision and leadership, the crime-prevention program may be initiated by the boys' club and revolve largely around it, even though it may develop into a community-wide program. If, in another place, the police authorities have shown the requisite capacities, the crime-prevention program may be largely conducted by the police department. If, elsewhere, the school system shows the proper initiative and ingenuity, a crime-preventive program may largely emanate from it. Each one of these agencies, as well as others, may have a specific contribution to make to a community's crime-preventive efforts. The success of a coordinating council is in large measure dependent upon the activities of its constituent agencies; and the success of each of these is enhanced by cooperative endeavor. The functioning of one agency or form of treatment does not necessarily exclude the need for another. For example, clinical diagnosis and treatment are indicated in some cases, group work in others; educational guidance is most needed in some cases, recreational or character-building facilities in others; parental guidance in some, the discipline of parents through police and courts in others.

But whatever agency or institution or group assumes the leadership in crime prevention, it should not attempt to function *in vacuo*; it should call into play all constructive forces in the community, and particularly social-welfare organizations and civic groups. This is necessary in order to provide a large enough net to draw in predelinquent as well as delinquent children, to make use of all institutional and human resources for improving the condition of children generally and problem children in particular, and to reduce waste by discovering duplications of effort and needed facilities.<sup>8</sup>

e. *Existing community agencies and institutions should be used to their fullest capacity.* The expense of crime-preventive activities can be kept low by the fuller and more ingenious employment of

<sup>8</sup> See articles by Additon, Fulton, Hopkins, Scudder, Thrasher, and others.

schools, other public buildings, churches, empty lots, play streets, and the like.<sup>9</sup> This principle applies also to extension of boys' club and other facilities to groups at present not served by them. Too often settlement houses, boys' clubs, and like establishments somehow fail to draw into their sphere of influence many of the children who need help most. The methods developed in Los Angeles for encouraging children to participate in recreational and character-developing activities deserve particular attention.<sup>10</sup> Armstrong, Blades, Keltner, and others stress the need of taking care of "difficult," or supposedly "hopeless" or "desperate" children.<sup>11</sup> The principle under discussion applies, further, to crime-preventive activities with children who are dismissed by juvenile courts as nondelinquent but who may nevertheless be in danger of becoming delinquent.<sup>12</sup> Unused human, as well as institutional, resources must be drawn into crime-preventive work to supplement professional workers.<sup>13</sup> Here is a rich quarry that has too often been neglected. As is often the case, the residents of a community may be wholly unaware of the significant role they might play in crime-preventive programs. How eager the members of various service clubs, civic groups, and other volunteers are to participate in such work when once they have been properly informed of aims and needs, is shown by many contributors.<sup>14</sup>

*f. While much good can be accomplished by whatever qualified agency in a community assumes the leadership in crime prevention, the public schools can play an especially significant role.*<sup>15</sup> In several respects, indeed, the schools are in a particularly strategic position. They have most of the children under their control for considerable periods of time. They have a natural and continuing reason for contact with parents. They have an oppor-

<sup>9</sup> See, for illustrations, the articles by Additon, Hall-Atkinson, Hopkins Linares, Lossing, Scudder, Thompson, Thrasher, and others.

<sup>10</sup> See articles by Scudder and Thompson.

<sup>11</sup> See also the articles by Additon, Hall-Atkinson, Linares, Scudder, Thompson, Thrasher, and others.

<sup>12</sup> See the contributions of Additon, Hopkins, Scudder, and Taber.

<sup>13</sup> See articles by Keltner, Linares, Lossing, Mertz, Scudder, Stullken, Thrasher, and others.

<sup>14</sup> See articles by Hopkins, Keltner, Lossing, Scudder, Thompson, Thrasher, and others.

<sup>15</sup> See the articles by Anderson, Hopkins, Peyser, Stullken, and others.

tunity for discovering antisocial attitudes and behavior early in the life of children. The public schools have the responsibility of recognizing physical and mental handicaps of children; determining their dissatisfactions with school curricula;<sup>16</sup> unearthing other reasons for maladjustment to the requirements of society; discovering means for making school work more attractive; establishing special classes or schools for children possessing special abilities or disabilities; and, generally, counteracting the tendency toward an indiscriminating mass treatment of children. The schools' strategic position must be admitted even if one fully concedes the validity of the point made by Peyser in the following passage:

The school is but one of the many agencies functioning in the life of the child. Unfortunately, in the present state of social organization, its best efforts are frequently neutralized by the more violent, intimate, emotion-arousing conditions of bad home environment, deteriorating economic circumstances, and low social, political, and ethical standards in the community itself. In the face of sharp conflict between ethical standards and moral practices we are expected to build character in the young. In the school, we set forth and emphasize a high code of morals based upon the principles of honesty, sincerity, loyalty to ideals, cooperation, and service. On all sides, however, in business, politics, advertising, finance, journalism, and international relations, our students are confronted with concrete and too often successful illustrations of skepticism, hypocrisy, dishonesty, misrepresentation, opportunism, prejudice, cruelty, and selfish individualism. Honesty does not always prove to be the best policy: the Golden Rule is not at all times the guiding principle of the average citizen. Good deeds do not always bring just rewards, nor evil conduct inevitable punishment. Bigotry and prejudice still exist in the society in whose schools we hope to teach the spiritual kinship and equality of all men.

*g. Although not indispensable, a crime-prevention bureau in a police department has certain unique values.* It can be especially useful in protecting children against bad adult influences and against the hazards of the city streets; in supervising commercial dance halls, poolrooms, and similar crime-breeding centers; in

<sup>16</sup> Dissatisfaction with school work is a fertile soil for truancy and other forms of antisocial behavior which may develop into more serious delinquencies. See, particularly, the articles by Anderson, Baker, Hopkins, and Peyser.

exerting the force of law where necessary.<sup>17</sup> Crime-preventive work in a fundamental sense is not inconsistent with the traditional duties of police departments. The preventive bureau can be a place of genuine understanding, using the best methods of social case work, while the other services in the department employ the most up-to-date techniques of detection and arrest.<sup>18</sup>

*h. Crime-preventive efforts should be discriminating in technique.* Mass treatment is undesirable. As Fulton suggests, preventive efforts involve an "interplay of psychological, recreational, and social techniques." Some types of children are not amenable to group treatment, and individual case work is necessary with them. The interplay of individual and group work is well illustrated by Fulton and Taber, and other contributors also offer valuable suggestions on this point and related problems.<sup>19</sup>

*i. A crime-prevention program should recognize that children must have ample outlets for their energies.* It is still true that "the devil finds work for idle hands." Unless the energies of growing children are canalized into healthy activities, they will seek unwholesome and antisocial channels.<sup>20</sup>

*j. Other psychologic and behavior traits of children should be taken into account in planning and carrying out crime-prevention programs.* To mention but a few: (1) The personalities of children are more plastic than many suppose; planful attempts to mold them in ways that will result in benefit to society, or will at least counteract antisocial tendencies, are therefore justified.<sup>21</sup> (2) Patent symptoms or explanations of misbehavior are not always revealing of its latent tendencies or meanings. Hartwell and Fulton, particularly, indicate the importance of bearing this in mind. (3) The grouping of children is a natural tendency, not in itself harmful or to be discouraged; gang psychology cannot be thwarted, but can be redirected into harmless and even constructive channels.<sup>22</sup> (4) In the lives of many

<sup>17</sup> See the contributions of Additon, Lossing, Mahaffey-Riebel, and Thompson.

<sup>18</sup> See articles by Additon, Lossing, and others.

<sup>19</sup> See articles by Armstrong, Anderson, Hall-Atkinson, Keltner, Mertz, Reynolds, Thompson, and Thrasher.

<sup>20</sup> See the articles by Fulton, Linares, Scudder, and others.

<sup>21</sup> See the articles by Blades, Fulton, Hartwell, and others.

<sup>22</sup> See the articles by Hall-Atkinson, Keltner, Linares, Lossing, Scudder, and Thrasher.

children there is need for some parental substitute as a means of forming a desirable "ego ideal" or source of hero worship and emulation.<sup>23</sup> This opens the way for effective work on the part of "big brothers and sisters," "sponsors," club leaders and others in reformulating the ideals and attitudes of children.<sup>24</sup> (5) The crime-preventive worker should earnestly and continuously strive for insight into the child's world; he should try to put himself in the child's shoes, as it were. Many contributors express this point of view in one way or another and some give valuable suggestions in regard to method.<sup>25</sup>

*k. In intensive work with problem children and delinquents, the attitudes and prejudices of parents should not be ignored.* The personality of the child is in large measure affected by the "family drama," and the best efforts of social workers, probation officers, and others may be counteracted, consciously or unconsciously, by uninformed and prejudiced parents. As Fulton puts it:

The unfavorable or vicious familial configuration frequently exhibits subtle psychological stresses which are amenable to analysis by interviewing members of the family. Needless to say, the child from such a home may be reacting to stimuli which he cannot clearly understand, but which succeed in causing him to manifest symptoms designated as neurotic and unstable. The social worker and the psychologist can frequently obtain excellent results by attacking the problem together. It has been demonstrated repeatedly that a change in the family pattern results in marked improvement in the child's behavior.<sup>26</sup>

The eagerness of parents to avail themselves of opportunities for advice regarding their children is indicated in several of the contributions.<sup>27</sup>

*l. Trained personnel should be liberally employed in crime-preventive activity,* although, as has been mentioned, there is

<sup>23</sup> See the articles by Hartwell and Keltner.

<sup>24</sup> See articles by Blades, Hartwell, Linares, Mertz, and others.

<sup>25</sup> See articles by Blades, Fulton, Hartwell, Keltner, Linares, Lossing, Mertz, Reynolds, Stullken, Taber, Thompson, Urquhart, and Wagner.

<sup>26</sup> Among others who point to the importance of taking parental attitudes into account are Additon, Anderson, Fulton, Hartwell, Keltner, Linares, Lossing, Mahaffey-Riebel, Reynolds, Taber, Thompson, and Thrasher.

<sup>27</sup> See Additon, Keltner, Linares, Lossing, Mahaffey-Riebel, Mertz, Reynolds, and Taber.

ample room for the use of nonprofessional aid, especially under the guidance of trained workers.<sup>28</sup>

We have not exhausted the views and principles expressed or implied in the various crime-prevention programs of this symposium, but have merely formulated some of the major ones.

### III. VARIETIES OF CRIME-PREVENTION PROGRAMS

Largely on an administrative basis, we have divided the crime prevention programs discussed in this volume into five convenient classes: (a) coordinated community programs, (b) school programs, (c) police programs, (d) intramural (full-time) guidance programs, (e) extramural (part-time) guidance programs, (f) boys' club and recreation programs. Such a classification seems useful, although naturally there is some overlapping of the categories. A simpler classification would be into the group-work and case-work programs, but even this would entail some overlapping. The reader may find it helpful to consider a few of the chief features of these various programs, before turning to the individual contributions:

*a. Coordinated Community Programs.* Those who stress a coordinated community approach to the problems of crime prevention are inclined to the view that preventive activity should be predicated upon the recognition of the community or neighborhood or "area" as a more or less natural cultural entity. Since the forces that make for juvenile demoralization pervade entire regions, it would seem that a community-wide program is called for. Such a program involves consideration of the entire network of culture-generating and culture-transmitting forces in a neighborhood or city: its destructive and constructive agencies, its public and private institutions, its means of work and play, its gangs, its citizens' groups, its ethnic and language problems, its prejudices, and the like. The essence of a coordinated community program seems to be the recognition of the interrelationship of the various elements in community life, their reformulation according to some desirable standard of communal soundness, the strengthening of constructive elements and weakening or removal of others, and the guidance of the

<sup>28</sup> See articles by Additon, Fulton, Hall-Atkinson, Hopkins, Keltner, Linares, Lossing, Minard, Reynolds, Stullken, Thrasher, and Wagner.

community's growth, under appropriate leadership, toward the realization of wholesome values in the lives of the community and its denizens.

This [says Thrasher] is the sociological, as contrasted with the individualistic, approach to the problem of crime prevention. It is the community, as contrasted with the institutional attack on the problem. The failure of the programs of educational, welfare, and recreational agencies to prevent crime may be summed up best by the term "institutional mindedness." This is the collective individualism which puts the supposed success of institutional programs ahead of the community program. Vested interests undoubtedly enter the picture at this point, but whatever the explanation, the fact remains that community planning for crime prevention and consequent coordination and integration of pertinent activities into a well-rounded program is well-nigh impossible under these conditions.

Among the outstanding features of this approach to the problems involved in a crime-prevention program are the following: (1) A preliminary survey of the region to be served to determine its problems and criminogenic influences; (2) the canvassing of the community's constructive resources—both institutional and human—and of the possibility of their more widespread and intensive employment under guidance; (3) the determining of the scope of activity of existing social-welfare organizations and the extent of their cooperation and overlapping in the solution of the community's problems; (4) the providing of an organization (such as the coordinating council described by Scudder or the means developed by Thrasher) for the better collaboration of existing agencies and extension of their services, as well as those of such institutions as schools, churches, playgrounds, play streets and the like; (5) the education of the public in the aims and methods of a cooperative effort to reduce delinquency and crime and enrich the material and spiritual resources of the community; (6) the liberal use of citizens' groups, civic organizations, and individuals in planning and carrying on the various elements of an interwoven program of crime prevention and community welfare.<sup>29</sup>

*b. School Programs.* The contributions to this volume by school authorities throw much light on specific ways in which

<sup>29</sup> See the contributions of Hall-Atkinson, Linares, Peyser, and, particularly, Scudder and Thrasher.

educational systems and individual schools—both ordinary and special ones—can engage in activities helpful to the prevention of antisocial and delinquent conduct. The articles range from the description of coordinated community efforts at crime prevention initiated by schools (the Bureau of Special Service in Jersey City, and the significant work stimulated by Peyser in two New York City schools and their surrounding regions) to detailed descriptions of the organization and methods of special classes or schools for problem children and others presenting peculiar needs.

The strategic position of the schools in having children under control during their most impressionable years has already been mentioned. And yet, as a number of contributors point out, the schools have on the whole been slow to make the most of their rare opportunities for discovering and counteracting dissatisfactions and maladjustments that may lead to misconduct.

Among the significant features of the schools' attack upon delinquency are the following: (1) Discovery of children mentally or physically handicapped and children presenting behavior or other special problems;<sup>30</sup> (2) provision of special classes or schools for the intensive study and individualized treatment of such children, for making curricula more attractive, and for otherwise counteracting the mass-treatment tendency of schools;<sup>31</sup> (3) employment of visiting teachers or other social workers in bridging the gap between the school and the home;<sup>32</sup> (4) collaboration of the school system with other community organizations and agencies.<sup>33</sup>

*c. Police Programs.* The work of crime-prevention bureaus in police departments is well described in the contributions of Additon and Lossing. Under informed guidance, a police crime-prevention unit furnishes not only the protective and repressive aspects of preventive work, but many of the others which are normally carried on by other agencies. Its chief activities are the supervision of the "plague spots" of delinquency (commercial poolrooms, dancehalls, and the like); the granting of advice to parents and others regarding children in danger of becoming

<sup>30</sup> See, particularly, the article by Baker.

<sup>31</sup> See contributions of Anderson, Stullken, and others.

<sup>32</sup> See the article by Reynolds.

<sup>33</sup> See the contributions of Hopkins and Peyser.



delinquent; the arrest of adults endangering the morals or health of youth; the teaching of children to respect the law and its officers; the putting of predelinquent and delinquent children and parents in touch with community-welfare and health organizations and related activities. But as Additon and Lossing point out, the presence in a police department of a crime-prevention unit serves the further purpose of reinterpreting, in a socially desirable manner, the entire range of tasks of the police in the modern community. The contributors show that crime-preventive efforts by a police department can reflect the philosophy and technique of the trained social worker without interfering with the efficiency of the traditional branches of a metropolitan police organization.

Effective work on the part of a crime-prevention unit in a police department is dependent not only on the specific activities of the unit, but upon its intimate collaboration with other constructive community agencies. How such cooperation is brought about is well demonstrated in the articles by Additon, Lossing, and Scudder.

*d. Intramural Guidance Programs.* Under this head is included the work of private institutions which give full-time supervision to problem children over a period of a few months to several years. Not only problem children, however, but many normal ones might benefit by some of the guidance techniques utilized in these institutions. The reader is invited to compare and contrast the methods of citizenship training in a supervised community of children, such as the George Junior Republic or the Children's Village, with those employed by Blades in his "Study Home for Problem Children," and the special techniques developed by Wagner in a camp for problem children. While these establishments differ in many ways, they have in common the advantage of having the subjects for guidance under continuous and many sided control.

The basic philosophy behind an institution like the George Junior Republic is well expressed by Urquhart when he says:

Somehow it has been assumed that, when a person becomes twenty-one years of age and is vested with the full rights of a citizen, he will automatically acquire such intimate knowledge of his responsibilities that he will straightway develop into a very useful member of his community. The amazing thing is that many do, but not through an

inheritance of divine knowledge which is passed on to them at the age of twenty-one.

The program in the Republic and Village is founded upon the conviction that "‘learning by doing’ is the most effective educational method yet developed," and upon the recognition that the educative process is not confined to the school. Urquhart summarizes the significance of such views in formulating the program of the Republic, in these words:

The George Junior Republic is unique in the whole field of education in that the training is given through participation in each of the five phases of the well-made social being—spiritual, social, recreative, economic and civic. The motto, "Nothing without Labor," is applied to the full extent of its meaning. Instead of withholding civic and economic responsibility until the age of twenty-one, the Junior Republic places these very important factors on a par with recreative, social, and spiritual responsibility at the age of sixteen years. When any one of these factors is not functioning normally in the individual, a form of "social illness" is the result.

A like broad conception of the meaning of education is expressed by Minard in his article on the Children's Village: "The educational policy of the Village is based on the assumption that a child's every experience and every personal contact has some educational influence on him for better or worse."

In the case of certain children, education thus broadly conceived necessitates a controlled environment for a time long enough to permit of readjustment of habits and attitudes in the chief activities of life; such an environment, under professional guidance, is supplied by establishments like the Republic and Village.

Both the Republic and the Village recognize the importance of adequate clinical facilities for the study of children, of keeping academic and vocational curricula flexible and adjustable to the needs of individual children, of staffing the experiment with well-trained and sympathetic workers. They both recognize the need of being constantly alert to prevent the deadening routine of institutional life from stifling the spontaneity and experimental vitality of their programs. Yet the two institutions are not similar. The Republic has the advantage of having in its

midst a large proportion of children who are not delinquents. The life of its "citizens" is more analogous to life in the community. On the other hand the Village appears to have done more intensive experimentation along pedagogical lines with young delinquents. It is readily conceivable that such establishments will develop techniques that will be found useful in the educational field generally.

Wagner's experiment of a camp for delinquents also has considerable promise. The reader's attention is particularly invited to his discussion of special techniques developed for such a camp, the qualifications of personnel, and the need of having some nondelinquent children at camp as a leaven in the loaf.

The Blades experiment is valuable in showing the place of the intelligently and sympathetically managed small foster home in a broad program for coping with predelinquency and delinquency. Here a genuine home spirit is maintained, the routinization of a large institution is avoided, yet the scientific insight available to a large institution is provided.

*e. Extramural Guidance Programs.* The four experiments embraced in this category have in common the fact that directly or indirectly they give part-time guidance only; they do not have the advantage of full control of their clientele. The programs in question include two exceptional clinical experiments especially established for children with behavior problems, a unique course for parents of delinquent children and a "big sister" program. Attention is here directed to certain significant features in these programs.

A chief point in the work of the Alfred Willson Children's Center, described by Fulton, is that not only diagnosis and customary clinical treatment, but most of the other elements of an organic program for dealing with predelinquent and delinquent children, are centralized under unified control. As Fulton puts it, "The purpose was to provide a place to which all children's problems could be brought for diagnosis, and from which would radiate the facilities for the solution of these problems." Not only is the case diagnosed, but all medical and social work necessary is carried out and paid for by the Center. "There is no scattering of service, since it all radiates from the Center. This method has been found to give a unity of purpose

which is invaluable to the child." The implications of such an approach may perhaps be inferred from the nature of the Center's staff, which includes, besides the customary physicians, psychologists and social workers, camp and recreational directors. Another significant feature of this program is its commitment to the policy that "when a case is accepted for supervision, it is taken with the idea of long-time service." The reader will doubtless find other interesting aspects of Fulton's article and should particularly consider the passages pertaining to psychologic mechanisms.

The other clinical program described is that of the Worcester Child Guidance Clinic. This clinic made a place for itself in the treatment of delinquent children under the wise leadership of Hartwell. Since the pioneer efforts of Healy and Bronner in Chicago and Boston, Bernard Glueck in New York, and others, many child-guidance clinics have been established in the United States. The Worcester Child Guidance Clinic, directed until recently by Hartwell, is one of the more promising of these, devoted largely to experimenting in the diagnosis and treatment of delinquent children. An interesting feature of this clinic is its relation to a state mental hospital. Another is the careful procedure developed for educating representatives of social agencies and schools, and of the community generally, in the aims and methods of a children's clinic. Interesting, also, are Hartwell's views regarding the relationship of a clinic to the work of courts. But most significant is his analysis of the types of therapy he found useful, particularly his description of the "vital interview," of "direct or active therapy," and "indirect or passive therapy," and of the "emotional tones or moods which tend to permeate the mental lives of most well-adjusted individuals."

Another chapter in this section describes an unusual experiment being carried on by the Domestic Relations Court of Franklin County, Columbus, Ohio, in educating the parents of young delinquents who are on probation, to understand the misbehavior and needs of their children. It undoubtedly represents one of the very few efforts of the kind being made anywhere in the United States. It well illustrates the discernment with which magistrates of vision can improve the traditional functions of courts.

In still another extramural guidance program (the Big Sister Service in Rochester, New York), described by Mertz, the reader's attention is particularly directed to the liberal use of the services of selected nonprofessional workers. Public and private funds for the employment of technically trained workers in the prevention and treatment of delinquency are insufficient to permit of the growth of intensive treatment work without volunteer assistance. While leadership and direction must always remain in the hands of the technically qualified, their efforts can be multiplied by the judicious employment of volunteer aid, at least partially trained and adequately supervised, as is the case in Rochester.

Because of the handicap of not having full control of their clientele, extramural guidance programs such as those described in this section have to depend largely for their success upon the intimacy of the contact which they can establish with those sent to them for guidance. This is certainly a challenge to their best efforts.

*f. Boys' Club and Recreation Programs.* The boys' club is the typical illustration of an essentially (though not exclusively) group-work method of supervising the leisure time of children. The contributions to this volume present an interesting variety of boys' club activities in which there is nevertheless a substantial pattern of similarity. It is of course recognized by the workers in this field that recreation is not the exclusive interest of childhood and is certainly not the sole gateway to prevention. However, the absorption of the energies of youth in harmless or constructive pursuits not only takes up much of the time that might otherwise be put to vicious and antisocial uses, but is an entering wedge to winning the confidence of youth and exerting an influence for good in other than recreational activities.

Programs of boys' clubs are well known and need not here be rehearsed. It will suffice to call attention to a number of special features described in the contributions to this symposium. The first, already mentioned but deserving of emphasis, is the growing recognition that boys' clubs should concern themselves more generally with "difficult" or "problem" or "queer" or even downright delinquent boys, as well as normal ones. Instead of opening their doors merely to boys who have the interest, curiosity, and initiative to partake of their facilities, boys' clubs are coming

to feel obligated to go out into the community and draw in boys who in the past were neglected. Scudder and Thompson show convincingly how the boys' club must reach out into the community to induce youngsters to participate in wholesome recreational and character-building activities, instead of waiting for the boys to come to them. Particularly is this true in respect to boy gangs which, under skillful guidance, can be transformed into healthy play groups.<sup>34</sup>

A second point is the growing emphasis on the value of a survey of neighborhood conditions and boy life as a prerequisite to the establishment of boys' clubs and the definition of their programs.<sup>35</sup> Related to this is the growing recognition of the need of the boys' clubs' striking root in the community. This has been carried to considerable lengths in the work described by Armstrong, Keltner, Scudder, and Thompson. The closer collaboration of boys' clubs with other community agencies is also being increasingly brought about.<sup>36</sup>

Another increasingly important feature of modern boys' club work as illustrated by the contributions to this volume is the provision of clinical facilities and guidance in carrying out the advice of clinics.<sup>37</sup>

Finally, it should be pointed out that a good deal of practical wisdom will be found in the contributions by workers with boys—not only those dealing specifically with boys' clubs, but others as well. The articles reflect a vivid, firsthand acquaintance with the psychology of childhood and adolescence, particularly with regard to the process of "socialization" of asocial or antisocial attitudes and conduct.

Such aspects of modern boys' club work as are related to the tasks of preventing delinquency—and we have not exhausted the illustrations—indicate that a healthy process of redefinition of aims and practices is under way. The growing recognition by boys' club workers of their past neglect of many of the children who perhaps need their services the most is a sign of their vitality and capacity for adaptation.

<sup>34</sup> See, for examples, the article by Armstrong, Keltner, Scudder, and Thompson.

<sup>35</sup> See, among others, the articles by Armstrong, Scudder, and Thompson.

<sup>36</sup> See the articles by Armstrong, Keltner, Scudder, Taber, Thrasher, and Thompson.

<sup>37</sup> See the contributions by Armstrong and Thompson.

## IV. CONCLUSION

Reflecting upon the various articles contributed to this symposium, the student of crime and the practical worker in the field of crime prevention must be impressed with several hopeful indications. First there is evident an energy, enthusiasm, and intelligence that gives every promise of producing desirable results. Secondly, there are signs of the awakening of the citizenry in various communities throughout the country to its responsibilities for many of the conditions presumed to be criminogenic, and with this an awakening of a desire to participate intelligently in the amelioration of these conditions. Thirdly, the crime-prevention programs being developed in different places indicate a rich variety of approaches without too slavish an adherence to any single cure-all. Related to this is a growing experimental attitude, together with a recognition of the value of the testing of processes by results, to the extent to which such evaluation is possible. Finally, there is evidence in these contributions of a growing recognition of the need of technically trained leadership, without ignoring the role that can be played by volunteers in the work of preventing crime.

Whatever may be the ultimate outcome of these experiments, evidence such as is found in this symposium justifies our looking to the future of crime control with at least some degree of optimism.

**PART I**  
**COORDINATED COMMUNITY PROGRAMS**





## Chapter II

### THE LOS ANGELES COUNTY COORDINATING COUNCIL PLAN

KENYON J. SCUDDER\*

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Who should be held responsible for a reduction of delinquency and crime? What methods can be used to combat this ever-present evil? Why continue the parade of youth through the juvenile court? Who is delinquent? The child, the home, the school, the church, or the community? Perhaps too wide a gap still exists between the court and the agencies of the community. What can be done to draw these groups together? "In many communities most of the facilities for effective coping with juvenile delinquency and crime already exist. They require effective integration."<sup>1</sup>

Juvenile courts and probation departments have in their possession vital information about local conditions. Too often this is withheld. Public and private agencies, officials, and lay people must be drawn closer together. That is precisely what the Coordinating Council Plan attempts to accomplish.

In April, 1932, the Judge of the Juvenile Court<sup>2</sup> and the Probation Officer of Los Angeles County called together seven

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<sup>1</sup> SHELDON GLUECK, *New York Social Welfare Bulletin*, June, 1934.

<sup>2</sup> The Honorable Samuel R. Blake.

hundred officials, police officers, social workers, and representatives of organizations interested in the reduction of delinquency. At this meeting, which was purely educational in character, the Los Angeles County Coordinating Council Plan was launched. Since the beginning of this movement some startling things have happened. During the past three years fifty-eight coordinating councils have been formed by the Probation Department of Los Angeles County. This has been followed by marked reduction in the number of petitions filed in the Juvenile Court. Approximately fifteen hundred interested citizens and officials are working on the coordinating councils in this county. Playground facilities have been developed here that were entirely lacking before. The Probation Department and agencies have been drawn closer together with cooperation replacing former friction.

By coming together in round-table groups the leaders in each community, with representatives of the law-enforcement agencies, can better understand and deal with their local problems. Before gathering in a group they do not know each other. After the first or second meeting an entirely different attitude develops between agencies, resulting in a spirit of confidence and cooperation and understanding. Petty jealousies and criticisms are supplanted by a cordial desire to work together. Each agency sees help in the picture. The community forces are at last arrayed for combined action and service.

The first councils in Los Angeles followed very closely the original plan for coordinating councils developed in Berkeley, California, fifteen years ago by August Vollmer, Chief of Police of Berkeley, and Dr. Virgil Dickson, Assistant Superintendent of Schools, which gave attention to individual children with behavior problems that might lead them to delinquency.\* In the fall of the year 1919 these two men met at a luncheon.<sup>3</sup> "We know a number of your special-class boys over at the police station," said the chief. "Yes, and we find that your police officers often go into the homes of our pupils. It might help your officers if they knew what the teachers could tell them about these

\* See chapter on The Crime Prevention Work of the Berkeley Police Department.—EDITORS' NOTE.

<sup>3</sup> See "The Beginning of Coordinating Councils," Virgil E. Dickson. Proceedings of First Conference of Coordinating Councils of California, State Conference of Social Work, May 6 and 7, 1935. San Francisco, Calif.

youngsters." "Good idea," said the chief. "The school may tell the boy one thing, and the Police Department another, neither knowing what the other is driving at. Let's get together and work out a plan."

From this simple beginning there evolved the Berkeley Coordinating Council.

The purpose of the Council [Dr. Dickson tells us] was the cooperation of the official agencies of the community for welfare work. We wished to prevent overlapping and duplication of effort. We wished to increase the efficiency of all departments through coordination, thus making the community a better place in which to live. We wished to investigate the causes for symptoms of trouble in youth at the earliest possible period in his life, feeling that the direction of child life in constructive channels of thought and action is more powerful in preventing delinquency than the effort to cure the individual who has become delinquent.

The Berkeley Council thus organized in 1919 has continued uninterrupted service from that date to the present. Regular weekly meetings are scheduled. These are an hour in length. Any member of the Council may raise any serious problem which he believes to be of interest or concern to the Council at large. Individual cases are frequently discussed by the Council for the purpose of bringing to light existing difficulties and developing, if possible, better techniques and better policies for future treatment. Each department is completely responsible for its own policies and its own services. Those policies and services, however, are open to suggestion and criticism by the Council. The Council is entirely a deliberative body. It has no executive or official authority whatever, does not vote on any questions of policy that relate to the individual departments, and never attempts through combined action to determine what any department shall or shall not do. Whenever problems involving the need for general community education or interest arise, they are thrown into an open community meeting to which various groups or organizations that are interested in that problem are invited for open democratic discussion. From year to year other official agencies of the city have been added to the Council. But the present organization and present work of the Council is another story which can be had from reference to other sources.

For many years the Berkeley Council worked very quietly and was the only coordinating council so far as our knowledge goes. In 1929 Mr. Paul Rieger, who was chairman of the California Commission for the Study of Problem Children, asked Chief Vollmer and me to present to that commission a detailed description of the work of the Berkeley Coordinating Council. In its report to the Governor, the Commission

recommended that California cities organize coordinating councils. Not long after this, Los Angeles, Santa Rosa, San Francisco, Oakland, and other cities developed coordinating councils. The most thoroughly organized and most efficient and well known of all these is undoubtedly the splendid organization in the City and County of Los Angeles.

The coordinating council idea soon spread beyond California, arousing national interest.

In December 1934 a conference called by the Attorney General of the United States, meeting in Washington to discuss the problems of crime, passed a resolution endorsing the idea of Coordinating Councils as agencies for crime prevention throughout the country. During the month of December 1934 at Washington there was organized a National Advisory Committee for Coordinating Councils.

Scores of coordinating councils have been organized in California and in other states of the Union. The movement now pushes forward on the wave of a tremendous tide.

The membership of the early councils in Los Angeles County included the officials and those representatives of case-working agencies that deal with children. As these councils gained experience, however, they increased their membership by adding two additional groups. One of these was made up of the leaders of character-building organizations and the other the leaders of civic organizations such as service clubs, parent-teacher associations, women's clubs, and church representatives. It was found that since the home and community entered into so many of the problems of these children, the cooperation of representatives of these groups was needed if delinquency was actually to be prevented.

The Coordinating Council is organized to conduct studies, surveys, and conferences in order to discover the individual children, groups of children, and areas needing attention by private and public agencies. This information is turned over directly, or through the Council of Social Agencies, to the agencies best equipped to meet the needs revealed. Adjustment of the problems of individual children is planned by a group of officials and representatives of case-work agencies known as the Adjustment Committee. Plans for character-building and leisure-time programs for individual children or groups of children are made by a group representing character-building organizations known as the Character-Building Committee. The Coordinating Council endeavors to stimulate the local community through represent-

atives of civic organizations, to face their responsibility for community conditions affecting the lives of children, and to work with the officials and social workers in order to make the community a better place in which to live. This is the responsibility of the Environment Committee.

The individual councils are composed of local people. For convenience, the high-school district has been designated as a territorial limit. The council is primarily concerned with conditions in its own area. Councils are organized largely through the initiative of local people. They hear about the work in some neighboring town or city and soon make inquiries as to how they may start a council. They get in touch with the Probation Department, and a conference is held to determine the best approach to the local problem. A list of names is prepared, including representatives of city or county departments, local organizations, and agencies interested in children; and a meeting is planned. The invitation usually goes out from some local agency. Sometimes a large community meeting is called to discuss the advisability of starting a council, but more often the first step is taken by a small group of five to ten people, perhaps composed almost entirely of officials. Their first action is to discuss the names of those who should be invited to attend the next session, and the membership thus gradually increases until it represents as adequately as possible the officials, character-building executives, and civic organizations.

At this first meeting the plan is explained by a member of the Probation Department with the use of charts and the booklet, "Who Is Delinquent?"<sup>4</sup> which describes how councils are formed. Questions are asked and details discussed. A great deal of enthusiasm is shown at these organization meetings. Once the group understands the plan, endorsement follows.

Most councils, as has been indicated, function on the three-committee plan—adjustment, character-building, and environment. Just how does this work out? Let us first study the Adjustment Committee. By means of regular meetings the members of the Adjustment Committee become acquainted with one another, with the procedure in each department and agency, with the changes in program and personnel, and with the prob-

<sup>4</sup> K. J. SCUDDER and KENNETH S. BEAM, "Who Is Delinquent?" published by the Rotary Club of Los Angeles, October, 1934.

lems each group is facing. They also become familiar with the resources available and can make use of them as problems arise. In this manner the problems of younger children are brought to the attention of the proper agency at the time assistance is needed. So also, all case-working agencies and facilities are made available to this committee in its own coordinating-council district. The cases of young children presenting behavior or health problems or who are in danger of becoming delinquent are referred to the committee by its members. This is a confidential group. Neither the child nor his parents are aware of its action, but things are quietly done for the youngster in question.

Cases are first cleared through the Social Service Exchange. In smaller communities the clearing is done between agencies. If the case is active with one or more agencies, the Adjustment Committee invites representatives of these agencies to be present when the case is discussed. Cases are usually presented to the Adjustment Committee on the form known as the Coordinating Council Case Record. At each meeting new cases are discussed at sufficient length merely to determine which agency can provide the best program for adjustment. Brief reports of developments are given at succeeding meetings and entries made on the back of the case record.

The Adjustment Committee members come in contact with local conditions. They report to the Coordinating Council chairman the conditions of the community that require special study, elimination, or improvement. Perhaps an example will illustrate the type of case usually handled by the Adjustment Committee:

*Case I.* Things were rather dull one morning at the Police Sub-Station, when the phone rang. The desk sergeant switched the call to the captain. "This party won't talk to anyone but you, sir. He's got a grouch." The voice on the wire was full of honest indignation. "Captain, can't you help me? I have called everybody else and they all say they can do nothing." "What is the trouble?" inquired the captain. "Well," the voice continued, "there is a boy in our neighborhood who is headed for trouble. He's not a bad kid, but unless something is done he soon will be." "Are his parents unable to handle him?" asked the officer. "That's just it. They don't seem to understand the lad, or perhaps they don't care. They allow him to be out at all hours. He's running around with a gang and doesn't seem to be interested in things other boys enjoy. I have two sons of my own, and we are very fond of this young fellow and don't want to see him get into

trouble." "What about school?" the captain inquired. "Well, there you are again. I called the school and they said his grades and conduct were satisfactory and they could do nothing. The County Probation Office couldn't handle the case because he hadn't done anything and they referred me to you. I appreciate their position, but does a kid have to break into jail before the community will give him a lift? They said something about a coordinating council and that you would know what to do. He has been picked up on suspicion once or twice by your officers, so they know him. I don't want to harm the lad by reporting him, but he needs help and attention right now. If I can help you work out something, call on me."

After a short pause the captain said, "Let me have his address and tell me a little more about the case." And so the conversation continued.

Police-station records reveal hundreds of children just on the verge of trouble. Unfortunately, the police have been unable to do very much about it. New calls coming in constantly draw their attention. Unless these children are picked up again for a more serious offense the cases are forgotten. Many of these borderline behavior cases are known to every agency in the community. Too often none of us do anything until after they reach the court. Our study of fourteen thousand Juvenile Court cases has shown that a majority make a satisfactory adjustment and do not appear again in the Juvenile Court.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps therein lies a tragedy, for if these cases can be adjusted through court action, how much easier it should be to make these adjustments earlier in the school and home. The voice over the phone wanted help, but that voice alone could not rally forces in the community to protect this lad. Each agency, having its limitation, stopped when it reached its border, yet they all have much in common. Each deals with the same human material and one cannot do effective work without the help of the other.

Coordinating councils are interested in the child, the home, and the community, but the child occupies the center of the picture. Cases of children are not discussed by the larger group, however. This responsibility lies with the Adjustment Committee which meets once a month or more often at the call of the chairman. The child and parents are never present at these committee meetings. The facts are presented by the person most familiar with the problem, additional evidence may be supplied

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*



by others who have had some contact with the family, and recommendations are made on the basis of these facts. Again it should be emphasized that the Adjustment Committee does not attempt to do case work. It endeavors to make an assignment as quickly as possible to the agency or organization best equipped to handle the case.

Many of these young people coming into the Juvenile Court have been in difficulty before but little was done about it. The Juvenile Police Department of the Crime Prevention Bureau of Los Angeles suggested a plan for reaching these children three years earlier. One-third of the cases coming to the Juvenile Police Department are referred to the Juvenile Court. Another third are referred to case-working agencies, but the last third are returned to the community with an admonition, and nothing further is done. In the vernacular of the police they are "kicked loose." If these children do not get into trouble again their cases are forgotten. Many of them, however, become repeaters. In order to meet this situation the Juvenile Police Department of Los Angeles suggested a plan by which the cases of this last group would also clear through their department and be then assigned to the Adjustment Committee of the Coordinating Council in the area in which the boy lives. The Adjustment Committee would then be responsible for working out a plan of action by endeavoring to build around this youngster a suitable program which would keep him out of trouble. A confidential report is prepared by the Juvenile Police Department and sent to the Adjustment Committee of the Coordinating Council where the boy lives.

The following case is typical of those handled by the Adjustment Committee:

*Case II.* Robert was apprehended while in the act of siphoning gasoline from a parked automobile. He was accompanied by Ralph Jones, aged sixteen years, who was operating a Chevrolet roadster registered to Ralph's mother. When questioned, these boys readily admitted that they had practiced the theft of gasoline in this manner over a period of approximately three months. The money given to them to buy gasoline was used for picture shows and other amusements. Robert's mother appeared cooperative but unable properly to supervise her son because of her employment. She is employed in a café and is barely able to earn enough to support herself and family. The maternal grandmother who resides with the family is capable of supervising the

two younger children but complains that Robert is beyond her control and his conduct has become much worse since his association with Ralph Jones. Robert's school record shows that he is only fair in his studies but not considered a disciplinary problem. He appeared repentant but unwilling to give up his friendship with Jones. He is strong willed and has gotten into the habit of staying out late at night and is in need of supervision and friendly advice. The Adjustment Committee referred the case of Robert to the Children's Protective Association with the suggestion that he join the Boy Scouts or some like character-building agency.

What results have been accomplished by means of this procedure? The work of adjustment committees has been most effective in reaching the first offenders and predelinquent groups.

For convenience, and to reduce the number of Adjustment Committee meetings, three of the downtown councils combined into one Adjustment Committee for their three high-school districts. These were the Metropolitan, Adams-Wilshire, and Exposition councils. Most of the members of this combined committee were connected with at least two of these councils. The following report submitted by the secretary of this Adjustment Committee shows how cases were expeditiously cleared and assigned to the agency best equipped to handle these boys and girls. Again it should be emphasized that the adjustment committees do not attempt to do case work. They analyze and assign to the proper agency each case brought to their attention. A recent report of the Committee shows that 76 children were brought to its attention between November 1, 1934, and July 31, 1935. Of these, 60 were referred by the Crime Prevention Bureau, 14 by the Bureau of County Welfare, 1 by the Orthopedic Hospital, and 1 by the Exposition Coordinating Council.

After being discussed in committee these cases were disposed of as follows: 20 were referred to the Catholic Big Brothers, 2 to the Catholic Welfare Bureau, 16 to the Children's Protective Association, 6 to the Y.M.C.A., 3 to the vice-principals of their schools, 5 to the Juvenile Probation Department, 3 to the Juvenile Police Officers, 4 to their own church groups, 5 to the Environment Committee of Exposition Coordinating Council, 2 to the Boy Scouts, 1 to the Catholic Big Sisters, 1 to the Long Beach Coordinating Council, 3 to the Church Federation, 1 to the Woodcraft Rangers, 1 to the Girl Scouts, 1 to the attendance officer, and on

2 action was suspended. Most of these cases were assigned to two or three agencies. Only five were referred to the Probation Department and these were cases already known to us.

Without the work of this Adjustment Committee all of these cases might have found their way into the Juvenile Court. The adjustment committees of the fifty-eight coordinating councils last year (July, 1934-June, 1935) handled more than 1,500 cases and referred them successfully to agencies and organizations within their own council areas. By this method all agencies are attempting to reach these cases two or three years earlier than they had previously been reached. These youngsters are now surrounded by wholesome influences and a constructive program. Only a few will eventually reach the Juvenile Court. Delinquency and crime cannot continue to thrive when we thus effectively cut off the stream of supply.

While most councils work on the three-committee plan, some of the smaller communities find it more advantageous to follow the original single-committee plan of the Berkeley Coordinating Council. The desert country presents a good example of how the whole council works as an adjustment committee:

*Case III.* Lancaster, in Antelope Valley, has a coordinating council that has accomplished great things. For the last three years this little group has about made over its own community. Eighty miles from the heart of Los Angeles, the city of Lancaster, with its population of 2,000, is the largest center for miles around. The high-school district faces a problem of distance. Thirty elementary schools contribute to this high school. These are scattered over the desert in such a wide area that many students have to reside in the dormitory at the high school because of the distance from home. The school busses cover the widest area of any district in the United States and it is estimated that in visiting or supervising these thirty elementary schools one must travel by machine seven hundred and thirty-one miles.

A desert country, there was little in this area for children to do. Petting parties in machines, wild rides across the open spaces, and other problems faced the school officials and lay groups. What could be done about it? The Coordinating Council requested the merchants to advance \$300 to put on a summer recreation program. That was a lot of money for Lancaster, but the summer program was a great success. People drove in from all over the desert. They willingly paid a small fee to enjoy the swimming pool and to attend the night baseball games and open-air dances. The tennis courts were available for night playing

and the little town took care of an attendance of 10,400. Money advanced by the merchants was returned. All expenses were paid, including the lighting of the tennis courts, and in addition \$150 was turned over to the community chest.

For three years now these good people of the desert have enjoyed a well-planned community program. Formerly, between fifteen and twenty cases were brought into the Juvenile Court each year from this area. At the last Annual Conference of Coordinating Councils in Los Angeles, Judge Samuel R. Blake of the Juvenile Court presented this council with an honorary award for outstanding service in the prevention of delinquency. He said, "During the three years this coordinating council has been at work not one single case has been brought into the Juvenile Court."

In the metropolitan areas the councils, without exception, work on the three-committee plan.

Now let us turn to a description of the activities of the Character-Building Committee of the Los Angeles County Coordinating Council. This committee is composed of representatives of the Boy Scouts, Y.M.C.A., Woodcraft Rangers, Girl Scouts, Y.W.C.A., Camp Fire Girls, and other character-building organizations and representatives of the schools, churches, playgrounds, and libraries. It is the function of this committee to see that the coordinating-council district is adequately supplied with character-building groups and recreational facilities for both boys and girls, and that as many children as possible receive individual attention and planned programs throughout the year. The Character-Building Committee does not organize new character-building agencies, but it does see that the character-building needs of the community are referred to the proper organization for action and report. It endeavors to discover by survey or questionnaire the available character-building facilities and groups in the community, and the children who need or would like to belong to character-developing groups, as well as the areas not sufficiently covered by such groups. Studies reveal the name, age, and address of both boys and girls who would like to belong to character-building groups and indicate their group preference. The results of these studies are presented to the Council of Social Agencies or other authorized body before any program of expansion is undertaken.

When individual children are referred to the Character-Building Committee by the Committee on Adjustment, an effort is

made to place each child in the particular character-building group in which he is likely to make a proper adjustment. The Character-Building Committee encourages the use of public libraries by children and stimulates in any possible way the reading of books and magazines that have a constructive influence on character. It also encourages greater use of existing playgrounds by children and adults, and cooperates with the Environment Committee in planning to increase or improve playground facilities. It assembles information regarding the most constructive efforts being made by schools toward the development of character through curricular or extra-curricular activities and shares this information with the schools in the coordinating-council district. The assembling of information regarding the most constructive use made of church facilities for social and recreational purposes, particularly by under-privileged groups, is passed on to the other churches in the district, and finally, the Character-Building Committee endeavors to see that as many children as possible have opportunities for camping, hikes, and outdoor activities, under the direction of some character-improving agency, emphasizing the value of this experience for those boys and girls who are denied many such privileges.

A study of 14,100 Juvenile Court cases in Los Angeles County shows that only 14 per cent of these children belonged to character-building groups.<sup>6</sup> This means that 86 per cent of these young people in trouble do not belong to anything. They have never been invited to join. No one has sought them out. Youth is hungry to belong to something. The gang spirit cries out from within. A Boy Scout troop is a gang. A High Y group is a gang. But these are gangs under trained leadership. A gang of delinquents is organized but lacks trained leadership and constructive purpose. How then can we reach this large group of "unattached youth" and sweep them into these important character-developing organizations? That is the job of the Character-Building Committee.

The Pasadena Coordinating Council showed us one way this could be accomplished. Pasadena, with its fine schools, playgrounds, churches and character-building groups, is a well-organized community. The council became very much concerned over the fact that 86 per cent of the children in trouble

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

had no contact with any club group. The Character-Building Committee prepared a questionnaire which was sent out to the schools. Eleven hundred and ninety-five boys said they wanted to join the Scouts but had never been invited or couldn't afford it. A similar group wanted to join the Y.M.C.A., and large numbers wanted to join every organization listed on the questionnaire. The names and addresses were then turned over to the agency in question and contact was made with these children. Many parents were very greatly affected over this new approach—"Why, nobody ever invited my boy or girl to join anything,"—and they were anxious to have them sign up. Then followed the necessity for developing new leaders to handle these groups. Leadership-training courses were organized and attended by a large number of people anxious to enter this field of social service. Thousands of children were reached by this method, and programs are being arranged to bring many of these young people under constructive influences.

The third committee of the Coordinating Council is the Environment Committee. It is made up of representatives of parent-teacher associations, service clubs, women's clubs, the American Legion and auxiliary, churches, schools, and other local adult groups and institutions or organizations interested in the welfare of children from the point of view of the community or home environment. This committee endeavors to improve the community and home environments by studying the assets, liabilities, and needs of the community, and through a campaign of education to improve home conditions and strengthen the character-building programs. It does not assume responsibility for changing conditions but does secure information regarding the needs of the community, and does see that this information together with constructive plans is put into the hands of the organizations best equipped to get the desired results. Having determined the needs and having placed the information in the hands of the proper organizations, it is the responsibility of this committee to lend assistance and backing to these organizations and see that the projects are successfully carried through. Studies of local ordinances and state laws relating to children and youth are made and actions recommended toward the improvement of these ordinances and laws when the need is clear. Information is secured regarding the standards maintained by

amusement centers, particularly as to the patronage of minors and the influence on minors, including in this study moving-picture theaters, pool halls, dance halls, beer halls, and questionable amusements that might lead to gambling. Information is also secured regarding reading matter and the dissemination of information liable to exert an unwholesome influence on youth, including salacious literature and pictures such as those in the cheap unwholesome magazines on many newsstands and in certain books in circulation from rental libraries; certain modern advertising sometimes used by motion-picture exhibitors, theaters, liquor interests, and tobacco companies; radio programs depicting disrupted family life, crime, and vulgarity; and the so-called "comic" supplements involving questionable advertising and situations.

The Children's Charter is used as a standard to list the needs of the community from the point of view of the child. When it is apparent that the character of children is being seriously affected by such amusement centers as listed above or by other unwholesome conditions, those in possession of the most authentic information are asked to report conditions through the Coordinating Council to the proper authorities. When no law is being violated by the amusement centers referred to in the foregoing list, but where the influence is still unwholesome, the Environment Committee encourages the conducting of more wholesome recreational activities under adequate supervision as a counterattraction.

The Environment Committee also endeavors to awaken communities to the need of more adequate facilities, both public and private, for constructive use of free time, especially during summer months. Playground and recreation workers are urged to provide for constructive use of the free time of unemployed young people and adults as well as play facilities for children. They encourage and support in every way possible the Parent-Teacher Association and other organizations working to secure motion-picture programs appropriate for children to attend on Saturdays, and to improve the general standard of motion pictures by encouraging patronage of acceptable pictures and by other means. They encourage the sponsorship of well-supervised dances for young people by the community organization best equipped to assume this responsibility, and encourage all organi-

zations represented on this committee, and other civic organizations, to include in their programs some project for the improvement of the community or home environment. The Environment Committee can assist organizations in the selection of such projects based on their study of conditions and needs.

An educational program to improve home environment is also the responsibility of this committee, which encourages courses in adult education under approved leadership, particularly courses in parent education, home building, child care, and family recreation, as well as courses for young people under approved leadership in home building, preparation for marriage, parenthood, and child care. Plans are developed to give individual consideration to parents of children with problems in order that the facilities of the parent-education courses and consultation service may be provided. Literature for parents is made accessible in the libraries, pamphlets are for sale at minimum cost, and free leaflets provided. The churches are urged to accept greater responsibility for maintaining the stability of the home, for conducting classes in parent education, and for assisting in the solution of some of the many problems with which modern families are faced.

Assistance is given by the Environment Committee in publicizing the program and objectives of the character-building agencies through providing speakers on special programs at organization meetings. The work of the character-building organizations is assisted by sponsoring training courses and aiding in recruiting prospective leaders. Member organizations are encouraged to sponsor character-building groups. The organization sponsoring a group furnishes leadership and gives support to insure its permanency. The leaders selected are often enrolled in training courses provided by the Character-Building Committee.

These lay groups represented on the Environment Committee have within their organizations more potential power than the other two committees together. Never before have they been brought into combined action and service. Each group has forwarded its own program and too often they duplicate the work of some other agency. When these powerful groups come together in the Coordinating Council Environment Committee they present a combined force which has never been equaled in any social program.



Social workers have been too prone to discount and belittle the efforts of lay groups. They have often been afraid of these untrained workers entering the sacred precincts of social work. Yet, many of these lay people have a great deal to contribute to this field. They have shown us all a lot of things. If held within bounds, as provided in the Coordinating Council Plan, their very ignorance of the techniques of social work has often been an asset. Perhaps they do not always follow the orthodox procedure laid down by schools of social work, but when their interest is aroused concerning local conditions affecting youth, they take action. They are most eager to help. They seek counsel and advice. They often point out ways to remove obstacles, and they approach the politician in a friendly but direct manner. "Listen, Jack, we have a rotten neighborhood situation in your own district. We want some help to clean it up." Always this has been met by sympathetic and speedy action. After all, the politician is human. He has a family and his own children may be in danger. It isn't just a matter of votes with him, he is genuinely interested in conditions in his district.

For the purpose of illustrating the accomplishments of the Environment Committee almost any one of the fifty-eight coordinating councils of Los Angeles County might be selected. They all have a different story to tell and approach their problems in a variety of ways. One is selected to show how a community attempted to improve local conditions affecting its youth:

*Case IV.* The Echo Park Coordinating Council faced a peculiar community problem that called for the coordination of all agencies in that area. One section of this district is made up of a large foreign population and the community had long been neglected by both public and private agencies. The rate of delinquency in this neighborhood was the highest in the city. Four times within two weeks the radio police had answered calls to stop the wild antics of riotous kids. Butch Baker's gang was in action! Automobiles were stolen from beside the curb, store windows were smashed as rival gangs fought in the streets. Then one day the manager of the Bijou Theater called desperately for help. The radio car with its siren clearing the way hurried to the theater, there to witness a scene of wild disorder. From under the stage Butch yelled, "Fire! Fire!" Fatalities were narrowly averted when a desperate rush for the exit was stopped by the timely interference of the police.

What should be done with kids like these? Well, some were taken to the police station, but they were never brought to trial. The cause of delinquency in that neighborhood was entirely too apparent to escape notice. Here was a community that was not fulfilling its duty. So the problem of Butch Baker's gang was presented to the Environment Committee of the Echo Park Coordinating Council.

The large foreign element that lives in those parts seemed to accept these disturbances as necessary evils. The committee made a careful survey under the direction of Dr. Walter S. Hertzog, of the California Christian College, a member of this coordinating council. The study revealed that the blackest area of delinquency was near Figueroa Street and Sunset Boulevard. There were no playgrounds or character-building agencies in the entire district. The Echo Park playgrounds were nearly a mile to the west, the All Nations Boy's Club was more than three miles to the southeast, yet these were the nearest character-forming agencies. A search was immediately made to find some suitable spot in this location for a recreation center. An abandoned old church property was discovered but it was in a very dilapidated and rundown condition. The church had failed to adapt its program to the needs of this community and had moved on. Plaster hung from the walls, the windows were out and the floor bounced—but the place had promise. In addition to the church there was the abandoned parsonage next door and a woodshed, or garage, in the rear.

A trained worker then wandered about the streets of the area and encountered the various gangs of boys. He invited them to drop in and play in the building. Curiosity probably prompted the first visitors, but they found it was better than the street, so one gang told another and soon the attendance began to increase. Something had to be done to fix the place up. Here the Coordinating Council Plan proved its great value. By this plan the work of restoration and improvement could be distributed among a great many agencies rather than putting the entire burden upon any one.

With this idea in mind the Environment Committee of the Echo Park Coordinating Council decided to do something about it. They held a luncheon meeting in this dirty, dilapidated old church and invited representatives of all the environment agencies. The Los Angeles Rotary, Kiwanis, and Exchange clubs, women's clubs, and public and private agencies were present. The need was explained and action followed. Responsibility was quickly fixed. The Los Angeles Rotary Club would turn the large auditorium into a gymnasium and basketball court. Another Rotarian offered the paint for the entire building. Kiwanis would take the back room and fit it out as a craft shop with work benches and tools so the boys could make things to take home. They would also install shower baths on the theory that "Saturday

night is just the same as anywhere else for the kids in the neighborhood." The women's clubs would fit up the parsonage next door for the girls' groups; where they could entertain their friends. The Exchange Club asked for the small shack in the rear. They wanted to fix it for the younger boys—the "Cub Packs" and "Pioneers."

It was a grand luncheon and during the following weeks everybody went to work. The place was to be called "Sunset Center." The old barn-raising custom of the early pioneers soon had the place in shape. Sounds of hammer and saw were replaced by the merry laughter of boys and girls at play—youngsters who didn't know how to play at first, for they had never had a chance. Their play had been dodging cops. But that was over. Now instead, for the first time they felt the real thrill of the game, a clean game. Every room was filled. The basketball court donated by Rotary, the Kiwanis craft shop, yes, even the shower bath were favorite hangouts.

The success of "Sunset Center" has been astounding. These children were hungry to belong to something, to join a club or a Scout troop. They flocked in by the hundreds. But does this center actually improve the boys and girls of that neighborhood? And what about Butch Baker's gang? Do they still raid the picture shows and dodge the cops? Butch said his dad got a job in San Pedro and they went there to live. But a few months after Sunset Center had been remodeled, painted, and put in shape, Butch moved back into the neighborhood and started looking for his gang. They were no longer on the streets. What had become of the "bunch"? And then one day he met Jimmie who invited him to come to Sunset Center. And Butch said, "Sunset Center? What's dat?" "Oh, you remember that old church on this side of the street?" "Yeah! Where we used to smash de windows?" And Jimmie said, "Yeah, that's the place." But still Butch couldn't quite understand. "In de church? Do you mean to say de old gang's turned religious?" "No, there ain't no religion about it, Butch. A bunch of guys fixed that old church up for us kids." "And don't you run around de street and raise a roughhouse no more?" "No. Its a lot more fun in here." And Butch enters Sunset Center for the first time. The place is all changed around. My! what an exciting place, and talk about action!

What an indictment upon a community that Butch should have to ask the question, "What are dey playin', Jimmie?" "Why, don't you know? Basketball. Its lots of fun." Suddenly the game stops as they crowd around Butch. Then it's "Want to join the game, Butch?" "Naw, I t'ink I'll stick wid Jimmie." "All right, fellows, let's go," and the game is resumed. That was a new one on Butch. Instead of worshipping at his feet it was, "All right, fellows, let's go." The gang was slipping from his grasp. And then Jimmie takes him into the craft shop.

"Look at the work benches and swell tools. Ain't it a snap?" "Yeah! What you makin'?" "A dog house for me new pup!" "Where'd you get de lumber?" "Oh, we scavenger around in vacant lots and gets old boxes and things and then we brings 'em in here and make swell things out of 'em. See that kid? He's makin' a scooter fer himself. Pretty swell job, ain't it?" And Butch says, "Yeah! Say, ya know, I t'ink I'll kinda like to do dis work myself. Say, what does a guy have to do to join dis place?"

And then the Director of Sunset Center explains to Butch that he doesn't have to join. It's all here for him to use. And Butch says, "Well, I t'ink I'd like to play basketball or mebbe make somet'in' in de shop." "Well, you can do whatever you want to around here, Butch." "And don't it cost nuthin'?" "Certainly not! Its all free for you to use." And Butch says, "Well, say, that's pretty swell! No wonder I ain't seen the gang on de streets no more. Ya know, I'm kinda glad I moved back into dis neighborhood."

And that is the story of Sunset Center. Every bit of it founded upon actual facts. Gangs no longer race the streets. The old church, which for seven years stood with closed doors, now fills a great need in that community. In place of street gangs and dodging cops, now the attendance records indicate five thousand contacts every thirty days. The old church has been born again. It still has a mission to fulfill. The Environment Committee of the Coordinating Council called upon the clubs and organizations to make this possible. It was a great job. A splendid example of what can be done when the agencies in the community get together. But who will carry this on? The Coordinating Council itself never attempts to run projects of this nature. The Los Angeles Kiwanis Club has taken over the complete sponsorship of Sunset Center. This club pays the salary of a full-time director and meets the overhead expenses of this project. The Friday Morning Club has accepted the sponsorship of the girls' groups. Dances, teas, card parties, sewing and cooking classes, camping trips, and many other activities round out their program. This center has been running now for more than two years. During that time not one dime has been requested from the community chest. The agencies and organizations. in getting together, have made this possible.

Can we hope this early to measure accomplishments of the Coordinating Council in Los Angeles County? The quickest way to kill a new movement like the Coordinating Council is to claim too much for it. Twenty-five years will probably elapse before the real worth of this method will be fully understood and appreciated. Certain accomplishments to date, however, give us

encouragement. Several of these have already been mentioned as we described the workings of the three committees.

Accurate records are kept by the Probation Department of Los Angeles County covering the activities of each of the fifty-eight councils. The Supervisor of Coordinating Councils<sup>7</sup> reports on each council every thirty days. Thus we possess a running chronological history of each council beginning with the preliminary arrangements prior to formation of the Council and including each meeting to date. These are carefully studied so that the accomplishments of each council can be accurately determined at any time.

We are also in possession of studies covering community conditions in each council area (a high-school district) where the councils were formed and compare these frequently with conditions in these same areas today.

The question is often asked, "Does the Coordinating Council Plan actually reduce delinquency?" We believe that it does. But this will not happen in a few months or years. The actual figures for the years during which this movement has been in progress in Los Angeles County are as follows: Excluding transient cases there were 3,991 Juvenile Court wards in 1931, 3,092 in 1932, 3,004 in 1933, and 1,403 in the first six months of 1934. In January, 1935, the Los Angeles Crime Prevention Bureau reported:

There were 3,013 boy arrests in 1934 as compared with 3,552 in 1933. This means a reduction of 509. This large decrease of approximately 13 per cent cannot be attributed to any change in the policy of the Police Department affecting juvenile arrests. There are now many more Police Officers assigned to Juvenile work than ever before, and for this reason fewer cases should escape their attention. We must, therefore, attribute this marked decrease in delinquency to other influences of which the Coordinating Councils would seem to deserve the lion's share. Their work with first offenders and pre-delinquents has been undeniably effective, as shown by this unbiased Annual Report.

Through frequent contacts between agencies, as made possible by the coordinating councils, officials and social leaders are rapidly drawing together with a new understanding of the problems of children. It is this new confidence between the

<sup>7</sup> Kenneth S. Beam.

Juvenile Court and the social agencies that has resulted in a marked decrease in the number of petitions filed in the Probation Department. The community is now first exhausting its own resources and using the Court only as a last resort. Communities which formerly dumped their cases into the Juvenile Court now take pride in trying first to adjust them locally, knowing full well that the Court will back them if help is needed. The simple practice of sitting around the table together and becoming better acquainted with the other fellow's problems has helped to make the community a better place for children.

What can we expect to accomplish in a local community if there is adequate coordination in the work of local officials, social workers, character-building agencies, and civic groups? This is what actually happens:

1. Individual children who are in need of some special service in order to overcome behavior problems receive this service from the agency that is best equipped to meet the child's need.

2. Present facilities that have hitherto been used chiefly for the privileged children are made available for the underprivileged and neglected.

3. Present programs are enlarged, extended, or changed in order to render service to groups or areas hitherto overlooked.

4. A change takes place in the attitude of officials, school teachers, social workers, character-building executives, and civic leaders toward these children with problems.

5. Workers from many departments and agencies form the habit of cooperating with others whom they have learned to know at the coordinating-council meetings.

6. The community is educated to feel a new sense of responsibility for those problems that had before been left entirely to the police.

7. The environment is improved through community action. Constructive influences are strengthened and destructive influences are eliminated. Citizens are aroused to clean up their own community and make it a more desirable place for their children.

It is the primary object of the Coordinating Council Plan not only to reduce delinquency, but to make the community a better place in which to live.

## Chapter III

### THE LOWER WEST SIDE CRIME PREVENTION PROGRAM, NEW YORK CITY

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Evidence of the need for a crime prevention program on the Lower West Side of New York is in part statistical and in part grows out of the numerous cases of delinquency, crime, and racketeering coming personally to the attention of local residents and social workers. While this area is not recognized as one having unusually high delinquency rates at the present time, delinquency and crime occur in sufficient amount to create a real problem.

It was not so much the prevalence of delinquency, however, that was primarily responsible for the development of a crime-prevention program on the Lower West Side as the possibility

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of securing leadership for preventive activities in this district and the fact that the problem seemed one of manageable proportions for an experimental program. It was hoped that the general plan of community organization and research worked out here might serve as a guide for other communities interested in the same problem.<sup>1</sup>

The Lower West Side community in which the crime-prevention program has been organized extends from 14th Street on the north to the Battery at the southern tip of Manhattan and from Broadway on the east to the Hudson River on the west. In 1930 the population of this area, which includes historic Greenwich Village, was 81,044, 28.34 per cent less than it was in 1920. The district in general is cosmopolitan with large concentrations of Italian population. In most of the families with children the parents are foreign born and these groups live under very poor housing conditions, for their homes are the 1,200 or more "old-law" tenements built prior to 1903. Families with children, in the great majority of cases, are living in poverty and more than one-third of the heads of such families are unemployed and recipients of relief. Death and morbidity rates are unusually high. Recreational facilities are inadequate and about 50 per cent of the children are not affiliated with any agency of organized recreation. Delinquency rates, while not as high as in several other sections of Manhattan, are sufficiently high to constitute a serious problem, and crime flourishes in certain parts of the district. Educational activities are not functioning to meet the complete needs of the community; there are, for example, only two parents' associations among the public schools of the area.

The principles utilized in the development of the Lower West Side program in part grew out of the author's studies of delinquency and crime in Chicago, but resulted chiefly from his study of the effects in preventing delinquency of a large New York boys' club. The Boys' Club Study,<sup>2</sup> which was financed by the Bureau of Social Hygiene at a cost of approximately \$40,000 led to the conviction that no one preventive agency could prevent crime, even in the sense of heading off incipient criminal careers,

<sup>1</sup> That such has tended to be the case has been indicated by the interest of the Brooklyn Social Planning Council and other community groups.

<sup>2</sup> The organization and methods of the Boys' Club Study are fully set forth in the September, 1932, issue of the *Journal of Educational Sociology*.



and that it was necessary to develop some sort of concentration of responsibility for a community program which would coordinate and integrate the crime-preventive activities of all agencies involved in dealing with this type of problem.

These principles were definitely formulated and the outline of a crime-prevention program was worked out at the request of the East Harlem Council of Social Agencies.<sup>3</sup> This program was presented to the council in the spring of 1931, but no action was taken on it. Essentially these basic principles are as follows:

a. *The General Purpose:* To develop a comprehensive, systematic, and integrated social program for the incorporation of all children in the delinquency area, especially all the maladjusted and those likely to become delinquents, into activities, groups, and organizations providing for their leisure-time interests as well as other normal needs.

b. *Means to the Achievement of This Purpose:*

1. Concentration of responsibility for crime prevention for the local delinquency area in question (a problem of community organization).

2. Research to procure essential facts and keep them up to date as a basis for an initial and a progressively developing crime-prevention program (involves child accounting).

3. Utilization of services of and cooperation among all preventive agencies existing in the given community (a problem of community organization).

4. Application of the preventive program systematically to all children in the delinquency area of the local community—in groups as well as individuals.

5. Changing of community conditions discovered to be demoralizing to individuals or groups of children and adolescents by means of concerted community action.

6. Creation of new agencies, if necessary, to supplement existing social organization when, and at the points at which, definite needs are discovered which cannot be met by existing facilities (a problem of community organization).

<sup>3</sup> These principles were described in an article, "Juvenile Delinquency and Crime Prevention," which appeared in the April, 1933, issue of the *Journal of Educational Sociology*, pp. 500-510. They were later embodied in the 1934 Year Book of the National Probation Association under the caption, "The Problem of Crime Prevention," pp. 6-23.

7. Education of the community and of the public generally to understand and support the program.

The general thesis of this type of crime-prevention program obviously is based upon the assumption that the most effective type of prevention is that which heads off the development of criminal careers by the prevention of juvenile demoralization. There is ample evidence to support the belief that criminal careers begin in childhood and adolescence.<sup>4</sup> It is also clear from many ecological studies that there are certain interstitial areas in both urban and rural communities where high rates of delinquency and crime prevail.<sup>5</sup> It is in these areas that most serious criminal careers involving burglary, robbery, violence, and activities attributed to gangsters and racketeers have their origins. It is obvious, therefore, that the type of crime prevention here contemplated should make its attack in the crime-breeding area and should deal primarily with the problems of children who are incipient delinquents.

In making these generalizations it is recognized that this type of preventive program is only one of several elements in a complete crime-prevention program. One of the major fallacies in popular attempts at crime control and prevention has always been adherence to some specific "cure" for crime usually advanced by an expert in one field only or by a group of specialists at the expense of a thorough grasp of the varied ramifications of a many-sided problem. There is no panacea for the control of crime. The type of crime prevention discussed here is merely one phase of the general attack, dealing with the supply of criminals.

To mention another phase of the matter, no program for crime control can afford to overlook the problems involved in the market for crime; for the underworld is always a response to conditions in the upper world. Several lines of attack must be envisaged if one is to keep his perspective with regard to the total problem.

First, there is the question of taking the profit from crime. This includes such problems as those involved in the possibility

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, the studies of William Healy, Clifford R. Shaw, Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, Frederic M. Thrasher, Harry Shulman, etc.

<sup>5</sup> See Clifford R. Shaw, "Delinquency Areas," Chicago, 1929, and Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, "Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency," Washington, 1931.

of large financial returns from illicit liquor, smuggling, gambling, commercialized vice, racketeering, etc. The repeal of prohibition was a step in this direction. Second, there is the problem of the organization of citizens for non-partisan action to rescue local government from corrupt and self-seeking politicians in order to break the corrupt alliance between crime and politics. Third, comes the development of better coordinated and better organized police work applying modern and scientific methods. Fourth, there develops the necessity for the reform of the criminal law and the administration of criminal justice with especial emphasis upon a more scientific treatment of offenders and a program for a more adequate adjustment of discharged prisoners in the community.

The above statements give some notion of the many-fronted attack which must be made upon crime in addition to the kind of basic prevention contemplated in the Lower West Side program. It should be added also that there are types of crime involving the violation of fiduciary relationships and bordering upon practices recognized as legitimate in the business world, which need attention. The embezzlers and those who practice business frauds in most cases probably do not originate in the crime-breeding areas which give birth to the gambler, the bootlegger, the pimp, the drug peddler, the burglar, the robber, the gangster, and the racketeer types of criminal. The former represent a different problem and one which must be differently met.

It is obvious, therefore, that we are not advocating a panacea in developing the type of program we are discussing here, but that we are suggesting only one of the basic attacks upon crime which is important if the problem is ever to be reduced.

From the beginning it was felt that the crime-prevention program on the Lower West Side should be a slow growth, gradually winning its way into the confidence of the community. It was recognized at the outset that if such a program should first be announced and its various ramifications described, it would meet with inevitable resistance and would be foredoomed to failure. The first need was obviously one of educating the community and the social agencies as to the nature of the problem and the techniques to be used in solving it. The idea of this type of crime prevention was novel and outside of the experi-

ence of the agencies and other social institutions involved. For this reason the words "crime prevention" were not even mentioned in connection with the program for a year or more after the work was initiated.

Since the prevention of juvenile demoralization is so largely a problem developing the wholesome and constructive use of leisure time among the children of the delinquency area, it was felt that the better organization of leisure-time activities on the Lower West Side was an idea which could be used as an entering wedge for the development of the program. Since one of the cardinal principles of this type of crime prevention is concentration of responsibility for the carrying out of crime-prevention activities, the first problem was to find the proper agency to assume this responsibility. The logical agency in this case was deemed to be the Council of Lower West Side Social Agencies, which is composed of representatives of the philanthropic, recreational, correctional, educational, and religious groups and institutions of the community.

In the spring of 1934, therefore, the chairman of the Council of Social Agencies called a meeting of representatives of all agencies having an interest in spare-time activities for children on the Lower West Side. This group organized itself as the Lower West Side Leisure Time Conference and became a permanent department of the council. The chief aim of the conference, which was virtually the recreation committee of the Council of Social Agencies, was district recreational planning to develop an integrated program of leisure-time activities for all children and adolescents of the Lower West Side irrespective of race, creed, or economic level. The following program of immediate objectives was adopted, not for immediate application at the time, but in the first instance to educate the community and agencies as to the nature of the problems involved:

*a. Fact finding:* To provide a scientific basis for a community leisure-time program through furnishing all agencies with useful facts and information.

*b. Conference and cooperation:* Increased cooperation and better understanding among all agencies dealing with leisure-time problems.

*c. Outdoor play facilities:* (1) Utilization of vacant land, play streets, and roofs to provide additional facilities and reduce

traffic hazards, (2) cooperation with park department and playgrounds.

*d. Summer activities and camps:* To study vacation activities and to promote wider opportunities for camping.

*e. Cooperation with Public Housing Authority:* For the development of recreational facilities as an integral part of slum-clearance projects.

*f. Prevention of delinquency:* Cooperation with Juvenile Aid Bureau of the Police Department for a better organization of leisure time facilities for preventing delinquency.

*g. Leisure time adjustment of problem children:* Cooperation with public schools of area, Bureau of Attendance, and Children's Court to make available more adequate leisure-time activities for problem children.

*h. Circulation of toys:* To cooperate with the Toyery in promotion of more adequate facilities for this work.

*i. Wider use of school plant:* Promotion of wider use of school buildings and grounds for leisure-time activities after school hours and in vacations.

*j. Wider use of church plant:* Promotion of wider use of church facilities for wholesome leisure-time activities.

*k. Better-films council:* Development of a Lower West Side Motion Picture Council to improve public taste in pictures and provide more opportunities for children to see suitable films.

*l. Radio committee:* To study the role and possibilities of the radio in relation to the use of leisure time.

*m. Reading and exhibits:* Promotion of more extensive use of libraries and museums.

*n. Volunteer workers:* Fuller utilization of local leadership for recreation: (1) Fuller cooperation with parents and parents' organizations; (2) Fuller utilization of big brothers as recreational advisors.

*o. Parent education:* Promotion of parent education and organization to facilitate more adequate leisure-time activities for children.

*p. Experimental block program:* To develop experimentally and evaluate programs of leisure-time activities for all children of given blocks where recreational problems are acute.

*q. Recreational advisement:* Development of specialized personnel to organize leisure-time programs for individual children referred by agencies.

*r. Leisure-time information bureau:* Development of a clearing house for all information as to local leisure-time activities and resources.

*s. Recreation for handicapped children:* Development of special facilities for children who are hard-of-hearing, cardiac cases, etc.

*t. Education of the public:* As to importance of wholesome leisure-time activities for children and adolescents and stimulation of increased support of existing leisure-time activities.

*u. New facilities:* Study of leisure-time resources of community and development of more adequate or needed new facilities.

It is believed that fact finding is a basic function of any crime-prevention program and that this should be continuous and eventually should be made the basis for periodic evaluation of the work being accomplished. Some of the first questions which needed to be answered by research were as follows:

How many children of the various age groups lived within the area covered by the Lower West Side program? Where did they live? How were they distributed with relation to recreational facilities? How many of them were not reached by the existing leisure-time resources? Where did the unreached children reside? Who and where were the delinquent children and what agencies were meeting their leisure-time needs? How were the children of the area spending their spare time? What percentages of time were being given to various types of recreational activities? What were the leisure-time resources of the community and how were they functioning? These and other pertinent questions were set forth as the immediate objectives of the fact-finding study.

The machinery for research in connection with the program was set up at New York University in the Department of Educational Sociology. A number of workers including a research supervisor, investigators, statisticians, and others were assigned to the university by the Works Division of the Emergency Relief Bureau. The function of this research unit was to gather and organize the data necessary to answer the questions stated above. In addition it was the business of the research department to provide immediate helpful information to any phase of the community program which wanted the answers to specific questions for the proper planning and development of its work.

For practical purposes the research program fell into the following categories:

1. Census study of children and their parents.
2. Leisure-time study of Lower West Side school children.
3. A study of child membership in recreational agencies.
4. Study of truancy, juvenile delinquency, and crime.
5. Parent-education study.
6. Housing study.
7. A survey and case studies of all recreational and preventive agencies.
8. A study of recreational resources in relation to the need for new facilities.

A study of the social backgrounds of the Lower West Side, completed by Charles G. Swanson in 1934, a preliminary phase of the fact-finding program, was available as a basis for the more pertinent studies related to crime prevention. The Swanson study, made as a Ph.D. thesis, was a thorough piece of sociological research covering the following topics: history of the community characteristics of the population; land usages and real-estate values; business, housing, traffic, transportation, zoning, natural areas; agencies of social welfare, health, recreation; the social world of the child; delinquency and crime; the school population; the agencies of education; and the traditional Greenwich Village.

An important contribution of the Swanson study to the crime-prevention fact-finding program was an elaborate base map of the Lower West Side, which was used for charting residences of children, members of recreational agencies, recreational facilities, etc., in connection with the problems of leisure time and delinquency.<sup>6</sup>

Basic facts regarding the child population, necessary to any well-organized crime-prevention program, were obtained by the research staff mentioned above, which was provided through the Emergency Work Bureau. The numbers, ages, and residences of children and other basic facts about them and their families were obtained for each social block.<sup>7</sup> These data were secured largely through the school census, an important source of

<sup>6</sup> Published as one of a series of Sociological Research Maps of communities in the New York Metropolitan Area, Department of Educational Sociology, New York University.

<sup>7</sup> A social block includes the opposite sides of a street between two intersections. The social block is the focus of child activities rather than the square block, especially since alleys are absent in this area.

information which should not be overlooked in any such study, and from additional house-to-house canvass.

A study of the way in which the children of the Lower West Side spend their leisure time was undertaken by Reginald Robinson.<sup>8</sup> The purpose of this study was to get an accurate picture of the leisure-time habits, activities, and needs of the children of this area. A group of 1,100 children was selected for intensive study through the cooperation of the Board of Education of New York City and the principals and teachers of the local schools. The diary-schedule method, recognized as the most reliable technique yet devised for this type of study,<sup>9</sup> was used.

The Robinson study showed that more than 60 per cent of the fathers of these children, who are regarded as a representative sample of those in this area, were born in Italy, while another 15 per cent were born in some other foreign country. The fact that the children are a second-generation group is important in considering the problems of leisure time and delinquency. Divergent nationality backgrounds create problems of adjustment for the children both in the home and outside. Home conflicts and lack of adequate parental supervision open opportunities for positive criminogenic factors operating through vicious poolrooms, social clubs, and street gangs to demoralize potential delinquents.

The families averaged almost four children each. About one-third of the children were living in homes where the bread winner was unemployed. The average weekly wage of those employed was \$25 and most of the fathers were engaged in industrial occupations.

When the necessary activities of the children were subtracted, it was found that the boys averaged 4 hours and the girls 3½ hours of leisure on Thursday, with approximately 15 minutes of leisure on Friday. On Saturday the boys averaged 8½ and the girls 6¾ hours of leisure; on Sunday the boys, 10½ hours and

<sup>8</sup> This study is described in the April, 1936, issue of the *Journal of Educational Sociology*. An account of its results was also published (1935) by the Council of Lower West Side Social Agencies.

<sup>9</sup> This technique was perfected by Janet Fowler Nelson in her study of the leisure time of business girls. See "Summary of Report on Leisure Time Study," National Board, Y.W.C.A., New York City, 1933.



the girls, 9 hours.<sup>10</sup> The radio, the movies, and reading proved to be the major leisure-time activities of both boys and girls with outdoor recreation ranking fourth. The significance of these leisure-time pursuits for crime prevention is obvious. The types of radio programs listened to, the kinds of movies seen, and the nature of reading constitute informal education which has an important influence upon the character and personality of the child. The time spent out of doors, much of which was "just hanging around" and street play, is exceedingly important in explaining the wide-spread juvenile demoralization in this area.

If casual and unsupervised leisure is regarded as an important factor in promoting the juvenile demoralization which leads to truancy, delinquency, and crime, it is important to know how many children are not enrolled in the wholesome recreational agencies of a community and of those enrolled how many are not participating. The Robinson study showed that only about 50 per cent of the children of this area were enrolled in the recreational programs of settlements, play centers, and other agencies of this type and that only about 16 per cent of those enrolled were participating. These findings were corroborated by the recreational study made by the research staff which constructed a large map indicating by block the numbers of children enrolled in the leading recreational agencies together with the numbers of those unattached to any agency. This map showed large percentages of unattached children throughout the area and some parts of the district almost totally unserved. The preparation of large maps showing the distribution of parks, playgrounds, proposed playgrounds, vacant spaces, heavy traffic arteries, and the like, indicated the lack of any community plan in attempting to meet the recreational needs of the children and revealed the hit-and-miss activities of numerous agencies working independently and often in competition with each other without reference to the wider implications of their work for good community service. It is believed that the confused recreational situation which was revealed on the Lower West Side of New York is typical of New York City in general and of many other American cities as well.

<sup>10</sup> These figures apply to four days in the latter part of March, 1934. The amount of leisure and the ways in which the children spend their leisure, of course, will vary at different seasons of the year. These figures, however, may be considered as representative for school and week-end days not characterized by the extremes of weather conditions.

Another important function of the fact-finding program in relation to crime prevention was to discover the numbers and places of residence of truants, delinquents and criminals in the area, in order to know where to focus the efforts of preventive and therapeutic agencies. Large spot maps were prepared indicating the residences of neglected and delinquent children appearing before the Childrens' Court from 1930 to 1935. Plans were under way for the spotting of residences of truants and older adolescent offenders when this part of the project was brought to an abrupt close by the withdrawal of the staff which had been provided by the Emergency Work Bureau.<sup>11</sup>

Another study was undertaken of the conditions in bars, pool-rooms, candy stores, social clubs, and similar hangouts. This was under the direction of the Law Committee of the Council and was carried on by expert investigators who visited the places in question noting the number of children present during school hours, the general conditions prevailing, and violations of the law. A similar investigation of motion picture theatres was made in order to determine violations of the Sanitary Code and other hazards to children.

The rather surprising fact that only one parent-teacher organization was found on the Lower West Side led to a study to provide a basis for the organization of new parents' associations in connection with the public schools. Basic information was obtained as to the backgrounds and characteristics of the parents of one school, and this information was used in developing a new parent group in connection with that institution.

A study of preventive and recreational agencies was begun looking toward complete case studies of the purposes, functioning, and interrelationships of these institutions. This phase of the fact-finding program, involving an inventory of recreational and preventive resources, was regarded as of great importance because in the long run successful crime prevention depends upon institutional efficiency as well as cooperation, coordination, and concentration of responsibility among preventive institutions. Crime

<sup>11</sup> The crime-prevention program here presented is now in a state of suspended animation because of the withdrawal of support on the part of the Civil Works Administration and the New York City Emergency Work Bureau. For this reason, plans could not be completed and several phases of the program were not projected beyond their beginning stages.

prevention resolves itself largely into a problem of community reorganization which shall eliminate "institutional" mindedness, establish concentration of responsibility for the performance of preventive functions, and secure smooth-working division of labor and cooperation among essential institutions. A directory of the social resources on the Lower West Side was projected, partly as a matter of educating the community, as well as providing necessary information in the development of the crime-prevention program.<sup>12</sup>

The machinery of cooperation, coordination, and eventually, it was hoped, concentration of responsibility for crime prevention was envisaged as being focused in the Council of Lower West Side Social Agencies and its various subdivisions, especially in the Leisure Time Conference. The following outline indicates the organization of the Council:

#### ORGANIZATION OF THE COUNCIL OF LOWER WEST SIDE SOCIAL AGENCIES<sup>13</sup>

##### *Officers*

Chairman  
Vice-Chairman  
Treasurer  
Secretary  
Liaison Officer

##### *Executive Committee*

Nine members chosen from representative organizations

##### *Departments and Standing Committees*

##### *I. Leisure Time Conference (a permanent department)*

##### *Officers*

Chairman  
Director  
Director of Recreation Project  
Supervisor of Research  
Director of Leisure Time Study of School Children  
Director, Leisure Time Information Service

##### *Committees*

##### *Steering Committee*

Fifteen members chosen from representative organizations

##### *Parent Education Committee*

Eight members chosen from representative organizations

##### *Community Committee*

Fourteen members chosen from representative groups

<sup>12</sup> Since the withdrawal of the Emergency Work Bureau staff, the preparation of this directory has proceeded slowly with the assistance of New York University students.

<sup>13</sup> This outline presents the organization of the work of the Council before the withdrawal of the Emergency Work Bureau staff in the spring of 1935.

*New Facilities Committee*

Eight members chosen from representative groups

- II. *Lower West Side Motion Picture Council* (a permanent department, affiliated with the National Board of Review of Motion Pictures)

*Officers*

*Executive Committee*

Chairman

Thirteen members chosen from representative organizations

Vice-Chairman

Director

Treasurer

Recording Secretary

*Committees*

*Community Plan Committee*

Three members

Four technical advisers

*Publications Committee on Junior Matinees*

(To publish weekly photoplay guide)

- III. *Health Committee*

Fourteen members chosen from representative agencies

- IV. *Law Committee*

Seven members with a lawyer experienced in the social field as chairman

- V. *Committee on Relief Practices*

Seven members chosen from representative agencies

*Relationships to other agencies*

The Council of Lower West Side Social Agencies maintains functioning relationships with the Neighborhood Section of the Welfare Council of New York City, the Greenwich Village Civic Association, the Steering Committee of the Lower West Side Health District, and the Juvenile Aid Bureau of the New York City Police Department

After the basic organization of the council as outlined above had been completed, the plan was to develop the various crime-prevention functions especially focusing them in the Leisure Time Conference and its activities without calling the program definitely by the name of a crime-prevention plan. In this way it was proposed gradually to embody and work out the basic principles of crime prevention already enunciated in the preceding pages. While it was not possible to carry out this purpose completely because of the premature withdrawal of the support of the Emergency Work Bureau, promising beginnings were made in all directions and a considerable amount of the work begun is being carried along in one way or another in spite of the withdrawal of staff assistance.

One of the most important phases of the crime-prevention program and one which has continued successfully is the play-

street project.<sup>14</sup> The initial studies of juvenile delinquency revealed certain social blocks which represented foci of juvenile delinquency. Large numbers of the children in these blocks were not attending any play center or other recreational agency, but were spending their time for the most part on the streets. The first development of play streets was calculated to draw children from these particular blocks. Seven play streets, from which regular traffic was diverted, were set aside by action of the Board of Aldermen. During the summer of 1934 a daily average of about 1,000 children enjoyed a variety of games and leisure-time activities on these play streets. Seven hundred boys participated in stick-ball tournaments and 900 boys were taken to big-league baseball games at the Yankee Stadium. During the fall of 1934 the program was continued after school hours and on week ends and some indoor facilities were made available for the use of the children in inclement weather. This program has been developed under the guidance of a Steering Committee of the Leisure Time Conference, composed of representatives of the recreational agencies of the community.<sup>15</sup> This committee has held frequent meetings to discuss policies and plans for the development of the program.

In June 1935 it was decided that play-street supervision would be limited to the four most strategic streets in the district where the children would be safest from accidents, since it was found impossible to divert all street traffic in the blocks set aside for play.<sup>16</sup> On these four streets, which were supervised daily from 2 to 6 P.M., the following attendance was realized from June 7 to October 18, 1935: total gross participation, 94,583; average gross weekly participation, 4,978; total actual participation,

<sup>14</sup> The play-street project was developed first under the auspices of the Department of Educational Sociology at New York University and later transferred to the Recreation Department of the Works Service Division of the Emergency Relief Bureau. The project, however, has remained under the general auspices of the Steering Committee of the Leisure Time Conference.

<sup>15</sup> The agencies having representatives on the steering committee are the Children's Aid Society, the Extension Division of the Public Schools, the Works Division Recreation Project, the local district of the public schools, Greenwich House, New York University, the Toyery, the Department of Parks, and the Juvenile Aid Bureau of the Police Department.

<sup>16</sup> These facts are taken from reports of the supervisor of the play-street project.

52,210; and actual average weekly participation, 2,748. The figures for total gross participation represent total attendance and participation in all play-street activities.

All children attending entered tournaments in paddle tennis, shuffleboard, baseball, boxball, and other play-street games. The Lower West Side play-street unit won the city championship in shuffleboard and advanced to the final round in the other events. At no time was a promise of reward given to any child entering the Lower West Side events. Children participating in play-street activities were registered and waivers were signed by their parents permitting them to participate. In gaining the consent of the parents to have their children participate, an opportunity was opened to acquaint the adults of the community with the activities of the program, and parents often presented their problems with the children to members of the play-street staff.

All children participating in the play-street program were examined by the play-street physician, and a record for follow-up and, if necessary, medical care was left with the health center of the district in which each child resided. The Health Committee of the Council of Social Agencies advised the play-street program on its health problems and cooperated in arranging follow-up work in its various centers.

As a result of the public-spirited cooperation of various agencies, commercial and otherwise, a number of excursions were opened to the children during the course of the summer of 1935. These included boat trips up the Hudson River to West Point, Atlantic Highlands, Bear Mountain, Indian Point, and Poughkeepsie; 370 different children took the boat trips. Other excursions were made as follows: Girl Scout Day Camp, 62 children; Riverside Cascades Swimming Pool, 80 children each week, 720 during the summer; big-league baseball games, 675 children; and football games, 160 children. Transportation for these trips was provided through the cooperation of subway companies, bus lines, and other transportation agencies.

A bimonthly play-street newspaper was organized and gave an opportunity for the children to write their own accounts of the interesting things they were doing. Each play street elected its own editor and staff and the various play streets took charge of the publication of the paper alternately.

The Toyery<sup>17</sup> was established in one of the neighborhood houses to give children of families unable to afford toys an opportunity to enjoy play with toys. A library of children's books was run in conjunction with the Toyery. A craft room was also set up in conjunction with the Toyery and children were taught various handicrafts as well as how to repair the toys. The daily attendance at the Toyery was from 75 to 150 children between the ages of seven and fourteen years.

With the onset of the fall and winter months in 1935 the problem of indoor facilities for the children of the play streets again became acute. It was found possible as a result of these needs to open a gymnasium of a settlement that had been closed for several years because of lack of funds. Parties, boxing bouts, and many other interesting indoor activities were now made possible. Several churches offered their facilities and regular play activities under proper supervision were established in these centers to take care of the leisure-time needs of the play-street children during the winter months.<sup>18</sup>

The New Facilities Committee of the Leisure Time Conference was active in attempting to develop new facilities, particularly in the nature of parks and playgrounds. Maps were prepared by the research staff to show the recreational facilities of the area, and these maps revealed certain districts practically unserved by present playground facilities. The maps indicated the residences of the children and the heavy traffic arteries which children do not cross for purposes of play. Repeated conferences with officials of the Park Department and other agencies interested in developing parks and playgrounds in the district resulted in the development of several new areas which were made available for play purposes.

Another phase of the work in which progress has been made is parent education. An active parent-education committee has as

<sup>17</sup> The Toyery is a circulating library of toys which are lent to children for a week at a time. When the toys are returned they are fumigated and prepared for other children.

<sup>18</sup> Seven indoor play centers were ultimately opened during the winter of 1935-1936. Each of these carried on a full-time recreational and social program including such activities as dressmaking, fencing, music, tap, folk and social dancing, and bowling, with other forms of athletics in centers with gymnasias. Four of the centers used the facilities of churches.

its immediate objective the organization of parents' associations in connection with the public schools of the area. The first school to be organized was Public School No. 3, where a progressive principal worked with the committee. The United Parents' Association of New York City provided a part-time field worker to carry on the active organization. The research staff had secured basic data on the 1,169 children attending his school and their 440 families. It was found that a large percentage of these families were recipients of relief, that about 90 per cent of the parents were foreign-born Italians, and that most of the families lived in the poorest grade of New York tenements. These facts governed the committee in organizing the new association, particularly in the matter of charging dues, arranging programs with Italian-speaking lecturers, etc.

Another field in which progress has been made is indicated by the development of the Lower West Side Motion Picture Council, which has become a permanent department of the Council of Lower West Side Social Agencies. This work was organized in the spring of 1934 when the following immediate objectives were adopted:

1. To create interest in motion pictures and in improving public taste both from the standpoint of more artistically adequate and less objectionable films.

2. To secure through a weekly photoplay guide the distribution to parents and teachers of advance information on pictures shown in local theaters, indicating what films are worthy and desirable for adults, for family audiences, for children.

3. To promote junior matinees and family week-end programs in accordance with principles already worked out in other communities and in cooperation with the mayor in his attempt to work out a better plan with regard to the admission to motion-picture theaters of unchaperoned minors under sixteen.

4. To stimulate the wide use of films by churches and social agencies for educational purposes.

5. To help solve the particular film problems confronting local social agencies.

6. To encourage the wide use of motion pictures in visual instruction by schools and promotion of an interest on the part of schools in the development of motion-picture appreciation through English or other classes.



7. To study and develop penny movies or a similar plan involving use of 16 mm. film, to keep children off the streets, in order to reduce traffic hazards, and to keep them occupied under supervision in a general program of crime prevention.

8. To develop an interest on the part of the local community in amateur movie making as a wholesome and constructive hobby.

The executive committee of the Motion Picture Council is composed of representatives of various groups which are especially concerned with the motion-picture problems.<sup>19</sup>

The Motion Picture Council publishes each week a photoplay guide to selected motion pictures appearing in the local theaters. It provides lists of films recommended for children's and family audiences to the daily and other newspapers of the city. It has developed a program of junior matinees, the first of which was held in the 8th Street Playhouse on Saturday, December 22, 1934, and attended by more than 800 children. This was a community program made possible by the cooperation of more than seventy-five social agencies. It included ceremonies connected with the municipal Christmas tree in Washington Square, a parade, a children's entertainment, and motion pictures.

The most practicable plan for children's performances has been worked out in cooperation with the Schools' Motion Picture Committee which is being developed by representatives of the private and public schools of New York City. On days when the 8th Street Playhouse shows feature pictures which can be recommended by the committee as proper motion-picture diet for children, the management of the playhouse permits the committee to eliminate objectionable previews of coming attractions, to select short subjects to be presented with the feature pictures, and to edit newsreels to eliminate objectionable features from the standpoint of the children in the audience. Other theaters in this area are considering similar plans.

The most important work of the Motion Picture Council is the development, by a special committee, of a comprehensive com-

<sup>19</sup> These groups are New York University, the National Board of Review of Motion Pictures, the Judson Memorial Church, the National Council of Federated Church Women, the Motion Picture Bureau of the National Council of Catholic Alumnae, the New York Public Library, Greenwich House, the Children's Aid Society, the Jewish Big Brothers, the Juvenile Aid Bureau of the Police Department, the Public School, the Parents' Association of Public School 41, and others,

munity plan covering every phase of the motion picture from the exhibition of entertainment films in the local theaters to the use of the pictures as visual aids in the public schools of the area. This community plan is to be the basis for a year's experimental program and is to include a selected community in Brooklyn as well as the Lower West Side area in Manhattan.

In preparation for a concerted attempt to eliminate social foci of demoralization in the area, the law committee prepared a digest of the laws affecting women and children in the area. The committee also supervised a survey by special investigators of pool-rooms, social clubs, candy stores, and other hangouts suspected of being centers of moral contagion. The plans of the program envisage community steps to clean up or close such places and to find more socially desirable substitutes for social clubs of questionable influence.

It is recognized that the activities described above are but beginnings of a program of district recreational planning looking toward crime prevention. Genuine crime prevention in New York City is difficult under present conditions because of the many divisive forces that exist even among altruistic social and preventive agencies. There is at present no recognized community plan for accomplishing these purposes. Such plans are generally regarded as fantastic among the old-line social agencies.

Next steps in the Lower West Side program include an attempt to discover potential delinquents and focus the activities of recreational and preventive agencies systematically and cooperatively upon these children. The truant group is probably the most important in this connection. To do this effectively requires thorough and continuing research services providing complete information upon the children and their families in crucial social blocks. Another important step is to secure coordinated recreational service to insure more complete leisure-time opportunities for all the children who need them. Here again careful child accounting is needed and something of the nature of a recreational exchange for camping and other leisure-time services is very desirable. A further important step is in the direction of coordinated case work for potential delinquents, truants, and delinquents with a more adequate plan for the adjustment of these children in community life. A plan which will integrate the services of the independent agencies working in the preventive

field and provide maximum care for children in those social blocks where particular problems are evident is urgently needed.

A preventive program working with the group and the community, however, promises quicker and more economical realization of the goal of crime prevention than one dealing merely with unadjusted individuals who come to the attention of attendance officers, juvenile courts, guidance clinics, and similar agencies. While it is necessary to deal with the individual problem child, from the standpoint of crime prevention, it is probably more important to go out and redeem the so-called "bad companions" who are so often held responsible for the downfall of the individual. The individual product of the gang, the poolroom, or the streets is but a symptom of the processes of demoralization which are producing delinquents in wholesale lots. Sociologically, therefore, the individual delinquent is far less important than the community influences which create him. If the poolroom or similar hangout, for example, is the "cradle of crime," it is far more economical to regulate it rigidly, or to wipe it out entirely by providing more effective substitutes, than it is to maintain an elaborate and expensive social machinery to correct the individual maladjustments which it produces or to protect society from the constant streams of delinquents which emerge from it.

This is the sociological, as contrasted with the individualistic, approach to the problem of crime prevention. It is the community, as contrasted with the institutional, attack on the problem. The failure of the programs of educational, welfare, and recreational agencies to prevent crime may be summed up best by the term, "institutional mindedness." This is the collective individualism which puts the supposed success of institutional programs ahead of the community program. Vested interests undoubtedly enter the picture at this point, but whatever the explanation, the fact remains that community planning for crime prevention and consequent coordination and integration of pertinent activities into a well-rounded program is well-nigh impossible under these conditions.

This point of view is not difficult to understand nor does it require any large concessions on the part of social groups and institutions to make verbal acknowledgment of its validity. The real difficulties are encountered when any thoroughgoing attempt is made to carry it out in a practical program.

The Lower West Side crime-prevention program has been first and foremost an educative effort developed in the hope that the agencies and community groups would eventually accept the principles involved on the basis of their sound logic and adopt more definite measures to achieve a real concentration of responsibility for crime prevention with a consequent plan for cooperation and coordination of activities.

## Chapter IV

### THE FOUNDATION FOR YOUTH, COLUMBUS, INDIANA

WALTER M. HALL\*

*Director, Foundation for Youth*

and

ROBERT K. ATKINSON†

*Director of Education, Boys' Clubs of America, Inc.*

There is little apparent difference between Columbus and several hundred other communities throughout the nation. It is an old city, as cities go in the Middle West, founded by the first wave of migration that swept down the valley of the Ohio and spread out across the plains more than a century ago. It has had a stationary population of about 10,000 for more than a generation; and, though surrounded on three sides by fertile land (on the fourth are the unglaciated hills of southern Indiana), it is distinctly an industrial community, presenting in miniature the usual urban social pattern. Its major manufacturing establishments produce auto accessories, radios, upholstered furniture, leather, Diesel engines, shirts, and canned goods. A large part of the population depends upon these stable or seasonal industries for its maintenance. The city has few men of wealth and few absentee capitalists.

The plan by which juvenile crime has been nearly eliminated from this community is the result of an evolving community-wide

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effort during the past seventeen years, and is an example of the old saying, "Institutions are but the lengthened shadows of individuals."

In 1918 Donald DuShane came to Columbus as superintendent of schools. He brought to his task excellent administrative experience, as well as familiarity with the modern trends of educational theory and practice, and immediately began to adapt the schools to the needs of the community and to equip them for services which are usually incorporated in only the larger city school systems. A trade school was developed as an adjunct to the junior-senior high school, with instructional and vocational features which geared into the industrial life of the community. Psychological and behavior guidance services were set up with ungraded and special classes and individualized instruction for the backward, the handicapped, and the gifted. The postwar interest in physical education and health, which resulted in great expansion of courses in these fields throughout the nation, was capitalized by the establishment of a thoroughgoing health service in the schools and the building of a separate plant adjacent to the high school with gymnasium and swimming pool, locker and shower rooms, that made ample provision for both school and community needs. A park, an athletic field, and four playgrounds were secured and equipped for outdoor activities.

While this program of expansion and improvement was under way plans were devised for providing supervised leisure-time group activities as an antidote to the loafing and pilfering, as well as the more serious types of juvenile delinquency, that were still common in the city. No research was necessary to justify the inauguration of this program. The need was apparent and nothing was being done to meet it. The basic idea in this undertaking is expressed by Mr. DuShane in the following statement:

It must be remembered that misdirected gangs, vicious leadership, lack of wholesome recreational facilities and demoralizing loafing places are not found exclusively in the large cities. Every town and small city has its vicious meeting places for boys, its slums, its abject poverty, its delinquents, truants, misdirected gangs, its unwholesome street and night life; and each such community annually feeds its full quota into the prisons, reformatories and jails, and sends many an amateur crook and moral weakling into the large cities. Boys face very much the same problems and temptations in small communities as they do in large

communities and need the same opportunities for wholesome associations and recreation. In spite of this fact only a small percentage of the smaller communities of the United States have provided even one of the following activities: a Boys' Club, Y.M.C.A., supervised playgrounds, a recreational program under a full-time director, or Boy Scout work under a trained full-time executive. And when even one of these activities exists in a small community it is often poorly supported financially, inexpertly supervised and short-lived. Such activities generally ride into a small community on a wave of enthusiasm, flourish briefly, then die a lingering death.

This understanding of the problem of the small city came not only from Mr. DuShane's experience as a school man, but also out of his service as a member of the Indiana State Crime Commission and chairman of its Committee on Prevention. It is of especial interest to note that John Dillinger, a product of just such an Indiana community as Mr. DuShane describes, began to achieve notoriety only a few months after the above words were written.

The attention of Columbus was centered on the problem of juvenile delinquency by a series of gang depredations on the part of boys, and a group of citizens was called together to make some plan for dealing with juvenile crime. Representatives of the schools, the juvenile court, the chamber of commerce, the service clubs, and the churches came together, and an organization known as the Columbus Foundation for Youth was established to supplement and correlate the leisure-time activities throughout the city. Since the establishment of the Foundation for Youth the leisure-time interests of boys and girls, as well as those of the workers in the industries, have been taken care of in a way that has assured financial support, skilled leadership, and the promise of survival.

The leisure-time program in Columbus is carried on under the supervision of a full-time director who is paid a salary that places him on a par with other professional men in the city. He is director of the entire program of physical education and athletics in the schools, is managing director of both the Boys' and Girls' clubs, and director of the city playgrounds, of the park and athletic field which are operated during the vacation and throughout the summer months. All matters pertaining to community youth movements and activities are under his control. He is the

administrative head of the Foundation for Youth; and because of this centralized control, duplication of effort is avoided. By virtue of his relationship to the schools of the city he is granted authority to visit the various schools and make announcements pertaining to the leisure-time program of the community. His staff of workers is made up of those who have the ability to give intelligent leadership in a wide variety of activities, but all are responsible to a single administrative executive.

The financing of these activities is a unique example of community cooperation. The school board furnishes the executive who is responsible for the administration of the community-wide program. The Recreation Commission, appointed by the city council, has an income from tax funds levied by this body, of \$2,000 to \$3,000 per year. By this means the playgrounds and athletic field are supervised and managed; and from this income part of the salaries of the executive and the members of his staff is obtained. The Foundation for Youth, a non-profit corporation with a self-perpetuating board of fifteen members representing the churches, service clubs, Chamber of Commerce, and city council, with the judge of the Juvenile Court and the superintendent of schools serving as ex-officio members, conducts a financial drive each year and raises from \$5,000 to \$6,000 to supplement and coordinate the leisure-time activities in the community. It has never failed, even during the years of the depression, to have its budget oversubscribed.

No standardized program has been set up and no definite techniques proposed for which specific results are claimed. The recognized philosophy and practice of recreation and leisure-time leadership that have been evolved during the past generation or more are the basis of the undertaking, and the tangible results achieved are due to the fact that there is adequate coverage of the entire community, which is small enough to be comprehensive.

Soon after the Foundation for Youth was organized a movement was launched by it to establish a boys' club. An unused school building was secured from the school board and was renovated and adequately equipped to meet the leisure-time needs of boys. The Boys' Club was officially opened in 1928 and since that time has provided an opportunity for boys between the ages of eight and twenty-one to enjoy under competent leadership and wholesome surroundings many leisure-time



recreational and educational activities. The Boys' Club is open during the after-school hours and evenings and provides room and supervision for physical activities, quiet games, handicraft, hobby clubs, meeting places for social groups, lighted playground, and library. The Boys' Club annually registers a dues-paying membership of more than 700 boys. A recent survey shows that 70 per cent of the eligible boys living in the community are members of the club. Dues are not rigidly fixed, but range from \$0.50 to \$1.25 annually, depending upon the age of the member. The poorest boy of the community is given an opportunity to become a member inasmuch as those who cannot pay dues may render some worth-while service to the Boys' Club to earn a membership.

The Boys' Club is nonsectarian. Any boy is eligible to membership regardless of race, color, or religious creed. There is close cooperation between the Boys' Club, police department, probation officer, Juvenile, and Circuit Court, in cases and problems of juvenile delinquency. A real spirit of democracy is fostered at all times within the club.

A recent survey of the Boys' Club membership indicates patronage of the club, not only by the underprivileged boys of Columbus, but by boys from all types of families. The survey involved 466 families from which came 620 Boys' Club members. Approximately one home out of every four from which members of the Boys' Club come is a broken home, that is, a home which bears evidence of divorce or separation, or where death has taken either the mother or father or both. One out of four boys attending the club comes from a home definitely below average from the standpoint of the ability of the family to provide good food, clothing and proper living conditions for members of the family. The average family from which Boys' Club members come has three children. Less than one-third of the families of Boys' Club members own their own homes; 47 per cent do not own automobiles; 50 per cent do not have telephones in their homes; but almost 80 per cent own radios. It was found that 60 per cent of the fathers of club members do common labor within factories, and 20 per cent of the mothers are working to help support their families.

Although the Boys' Club was first established without a scientific investigation to determine the needs, a study of the economic

and social life of the families of Boys' Club members is an excellent criterion of the value of such an institution within the community.

A comparison of organized leisure-time youth activities before and after the establishment of the Boys' Club gives evidence of the progress made by the community in meeting the problems of its youth. The community now has the following activities, which were entirely non-existent before the organization of the club: hobby clubs; athletic leagues; a summer camp; handicraft projects; vocational guidance; organized swimming and life saving; supervised playgrounds; organized parties; opportunity for leadership training; musical organizations; professional supervision and activities for predelinquents; night use of school buildings, swimming pool, and gymnasium by leisure-time agencies; close cooperation between schools and leisure-time agencies, and between courts, probation officers, police department, and leisure-time agencies.

The work of the Boys' Club has been so successful and popular with the community that recently, because of demands made upon the Foundation for Youth by the citizens of Columbus, a Girls' Club has been established to meet the leisure-time needs for girls. Another unused school building was secured and has been equipped for the use of girls' and women's organizations. The Girls' Club provides rooms for social programs, physical activities, dining room and kitchen, and is the headquarters for organized groups of girls and a meeting place for a score of women's organizations.

The following are the many recreational and educational activities sponsored for the youth of Columbus by the Boys' and Girls' clubs: games room, airplane modeling, woodworking, handicrafts, life-saving classes, cooking classes; gym classes, baseball, basketball, boxball, boxing, tennis, wrestling; tap dancing, dramatics, glee club, group singing, movies; a library; parties, overnight camps; leadership groups; radio club, rifle club, stamp club; vocational guidance; and summer camp.

Contrary to practices observed in many of the smaller communities, the facilities of the schools, such as classrooms, shops, auditorium, swimming pool and gymnasium, are made available for use by the Boys' and Girls' clubs outside of school hours. Parties and movies are held frequently by both organizations in

the high-school auditorium; and the high-school gymnasium and swimming pool are nightly scenes of much action, as these facilities are made available to the two Clubs.

In regard to the problem of juvenile delinquency, the attack is made a part of a larger scheme of coordination of social forces in the community, and no single factor in the situation can be isolated and given credit for what has been achieved. However, during the past seven years special emphasis has been given to the direction of the leisure-time activities of "problem" or "pre-delinquent" boys. There has been, for example, the closest cooperation between the Boys' Club and the juvenile judge, Circuit Court judge, Police Department, and schools. All agencies have shared in a cooperative effort to prevent crime. Boys appearing in Police Court as first offenders are kindly but firmly advised and counseled, and are often referred to the director of the Boys' Club for study and supervision. In the more serious cases of delinquency, when a careful investigation has indicated the possibility of reform, the offenders have often been probated to the director of the Boys' Club. In each such case the Boys' Club director and staff have attempted to study the boy, discover and correct the influences that have caused his delinquency, and find new interests in which his energies might be properly utilized. Every effort has been made to guide and advise him and to bring to play upon him all the available factors that might assist him in the development of a new self-respect and a better attitude toward life and society. It must be understood, however, that the chief work of the Boys' Club is not reform but prevention through the provision of a wholesome, interesting, and varied program of leisure-time activities and companionships.

While the approach has been primarily through group work, many cases have involved highly individualized techniques. The following are typical:

*Case I.* Three years ago a group of nine boys, ranging in age from eight to seventeen years old, called themselves the "chain gang." Each wore a small chain about his wrist as a token of membership; and smoking, swearing, and malicious destruction of property were a regular part of their program. Finally the gang organized for the purpose of shoplifting and robbing penny gum machines. The boys would divide into groups and compete with each other in the stealing of merchandise.

After a time, arrests were made and the entire group was rounded up and brought into Police Court. Their cases were discussed, and the boys were put on probation to the Boys' Club. Steps were immediately taken by the club staff to bring about, if possible, an adjustment in the lives of these boys. Each boy was carefully studied, parents were interviewed, and a cooperative plan was arranged involving club staff, parents, police, court, and boys. The interest of the boys was diverted into new channels, and soon they were making the club their "hangout" and entering athletic events, cooking classes, woodwork classes, and many other activities.

Records show that three of these boys have now graduated from high school, three are now in high school, and two are in grade school. All are doing well except the oldest member of the group, who became a second offender and has been committed to a correctional institution.

*Case II.* John, thirteen years of age, is the third youngest member of a family of six boys and two girls. He has never experienced the affection of a kind father and has been an eyewitness to many scenes of quarreling and turmoil between his parents. Discipline took the form of "sound beatings." The father was shiftless, worthless, addicted to drink, cared little for his family and provided less, and after the inevitable divorce the burden of family support fell on the children. The boys have been "newsies" for a number of years and largely by the sale of papers have maintained the poorly furnished home. John, early in life, committed a number of minor offenses for which he was reprimanded by the police. But the climax came when two years ago he hid in a department store and after the closing hour robbed the money drawer. In his hasty departure from the store he left behind his cloth paper carrier, which served as a clue. He confessed to the owner of the store, who reported the matter to the Boys' Club.

A club worker immediately got acquainted with John and laid out a complete program with team and club activities for his free time. Today he has an entirely different attitude toward life. He seems happy and trustworthy, and takes part in many club activities. He has been a fine camper at the summer camp during the past two years, and there is a feeling that he will become an asset to society rather than a liability.

The evaluation of what has happened in Columbus is not an easy task. On page 76 is the record of juvenile delinquency by fiscal years for the past ten years.

Of the fourteen boys' cases in the last four years, five are "repeaters," so that only nine different boys are involved; and in the last two years there has not been a single "new" case in the juvenile court.

Year	Boys	Girls	Total	Committed to State Correctional Institutions
1925-1926	15	0	15	0
1926-1927	3	1	4	1
1927-1928	11	5	16	4
1928-1929	12	1	13	0
1929-1930	9	3	12	3
1930-1931	7	0	7	1
1931-1932	7	1	8	1
1932-1933	4	4	8	2
1933-1934	1	2	3	1
1934-1935	2	0	2	0

Sanford Bates, Director of the Bureau of Federal Prisons recently said:

The work of crime prevention will be a long, slow process of education and training. If properly performed it will be an unconscious process. It may not be effective if we go about this task with too much emphasis upon crime. Rather than proceeding too consciously about the negative business of preventing crime it would probably be much more effective if we proceed with the positive task of building up our communities into cleaner and finer neighborhoods and our boys and girls into better characters and let the business of crime prevention follow as a natural sequence.

This seems to express what Columbus, Indiana, has been doing. These are the very things that have been basic to the task here, "A slow process of education and training—an unconscious process—without too much emphasis on crime—cleaner and finer neighborhoods."

## Chapter V

### THE DIRECTOR-AT-LARGE PLAN OF THE SAN FRANCISCO RECREATION COMMISSION

GERALD J. LINARES\*

*Supervisor of Athletics*

In May, 1930, the chief of the San Francisco Police Department,<sup>1</sup> met with the superintendent of the San Francisco Recreation Department,<sup>2</sup> to discuss the problems of children living in a certain crowded area of the city. The Chief of Police reported that the records indicated that this district had a great deal of juvenile delinquency. There were too many cases of petty theft, too many gangs standing around street corners late at night. What should be done?

The superintendent of the Recreation Department asked one of the recreation workers to go into the district to make a survey and submit a written report. After four months of residence in the district during which an intimate acquaintance with the boys of the neighborhood was gained, the worker submitted a report which stated briefly:

1. That while at one time this area had been the residential district of the city, since the fire of 1906 it had deteriorated and had become the habitat of the transient, the poor, of bootleggers, and prostitutes.

2. That as both parents of the children living in this district were obliged to work for a livelihood, home life was entirely lacking and the boys were allowed to roam the streets during the late hours of the night.

\* Attended St. Mary's College (Oakland, Calif.) and University of San Francisco School of Law. Formerly playground director, San Francisco Recreation Department. Formerly Executive Secretary, Executive Coordinating Council, San Francisco. Has conducted surveys of delinquency areas and statistical studies of juvenile populations.—EDITORS' NOTE.

<sup>1</sup> William J. Quinn.

<sup>2</sup> Miss Josephine D. Randall.

3. That its cheap theaters, poolrooms, and stores were attractions to gangs of boys from neighboring areas.

4. That there existed but one recreational facility, a supervised playground, which was inadequate because of its size.

5. That the boys frequented the poolrooms, dime shows, and an unsupervised public park where they mingled with undesirable characters.

6. That the boys stole commodities from stores, broke into vacant homes and stole fixtures to sell to the junkman, and used the proceeds to go to shows and visit poolrooms.

7. That the boys who used the playground found the facilities unsatisfactory for the type of games which they wanted to play.

8. That the majority of the boys in this area had never been to a playground, but that they were anxious to organize into clubs, to have teams, and to be active during their leisure hours.

On the basis of these findings of fact the survey made several recommendations:

1. That the supervised playground be cleared, enlarged, and lighted for night play.

2. That a supervised community center, large enough to provide for a gymnasium, showers, game rooms, dens for meetings, pool tables, and boxing rings, be established in the heart of this district.

3. That the executives of the four municipal departments charged with the welfare of children, namely, the Police Department, School Department, Recreation Department, and Juvenile Court, be banded together as a Coordinating Council to focus their attention on the problems of the children in this district.

4. That an understanding, trained recreation worker, familiar with the district and with the boys living therein, be allowed to work at large within this area to contact the boys and interest them in leisure-time recreational activities.

In a short time, through the efforts of the superintendent of the Recreation Department, these four suggestions were realized. The supervised playground was enlarged and lighted for night play. An old abandoned church located in the heart of the district was turned into an inviting recreation center with a gymnasium, showers, game rooms, pool tables, and boxing ring. A capable, trained recreation leader was placed in charge with instructions to plan his program according to the interests of the

boys. In a short time the director organized twenty-three clubs, each with its own particular interest, some athletic, others social, musical, and literary.

The executives of the four municipal departments legally responsible for the welfare of children were organized into a Coordinating Council\* and held bimonthly meetings. The Coordinating Council proved a successful means of integrating the work of the various departments and thereby preventing duplication of effort. It offered an opportunity for planning as a unit for the welfare of children. Later, health and relief problems were discussed and the council was enlarged to include eight municipal departments. A few years after, district councils were organized. These units were patterned after the parent group, only they had for their members district workers from each of the eight municipal departments. At their meetings they discussed individual problems of minors as well as problems of the community, they studied the character-building resources as well as the unwholesome influences, and planned ways and means of making their district a better place for children to live in.

A capable trained recreation worker was made the "Director-at-Large" and placed in the field to contact the gangs and individual boys and interest them in recreational activities provided by the playground and the new community center. Six months after the inception of this experiment the Chief of Police, as well as the Chief Juvenile Probation Officer, reported that the immediate effect of establishing the recreation center and initiating the director-at-large plan was to greatly reduce the number of juvenile delinquents who were brought before the Juvenile Court or came to the attention of the police. Since this first endeavor, two other directors-at-large have been placed in two other districts that were presenting the problem of boys in need of guidance during leisure hours.

Recreation has always been known as a preventive of juvenile crime. Boys active in a playground or club under proper supervision are less susceptible to the temptations that every boy has during adolescence. If during leisure hours boys are absorbed in games as exciting as taking a ride in a stolen car, there is every chance that they will forget about the car.

\* See Chapter II on Los Angeles County Coordinating Council Plan.—  
EDITORS' NOTE.



The director-at-large plan of the Recreation Department offers a step forward in the prevention of crime through recreation. The Director-at-Large can take gangs hanging around street corners and turn them into basketball teams and mold the gang's leaders into club leaders. He can befriend an underprivileged boy, too shy to participate in the normal activities of a playground, and encourage him until he arouses his interest to be like the others. He studies and works with the maladjusted until he finds a program in which he may adapt himself. He picks up those that have felt the stigma of the court and helps to strengthen their moral fiber through proper association. He is quick to sense the weakness in a boy's character. He knows when the gang has tired of an activity and is ready to make the rounds of the poolrooms, and above all he is a real friend to all the boys.

The Recreation Director-at-Large is carefully selected for his knowledge and understanding of problem boys, for his interest in social work, for his wide experience in recreational work, for his personality, for his ability to attract boys, for his ability to have their respect and still not lose that common touch, and for his willingness to meet new problems with the same enthusiasm and will to contribute something worth while to each boy's character.

The Director-at-Large must know his district and its subversive influences and must have at his command a thorough knowledge of the facilities and programs of all recreational agencies. The Director-at-Large can perform a useful service in acquainting boys with the recreational facilities in a city, when those boys have moved there from some other town. He must know the people living in this area, their social habits and economic status. His approach to the problems of his district may be twofold: first, through a direct contact with individuals or with the gangs by visiting them in their "hangouts" or meeting them on the streets; and second, through references from cooperative sources, such as child agencies, Juvenile Court, Police Department, and schools.

At the inception of the work, the city was subdivided into three divisions. Each director-at-large was responsible for one-third of the city. This was found to be very unsatisfactory, and with the organization of the district coordinating councils, the direc-

tors-at-large were placed in each of the three coordinating council districts. One district is two square miles, the other  $4\frac{1}{10}$  square miles and the third  $2\frac{1}{2}$  square miles.

To assist the directors-at-large in their work, several work-relief projects have been placed in operation. A census was taken of the juvenile population of the city, including data on age, sex, and nationality. This information has been spotted on enlarged maps so that the exact number of children living in each block can be easily ascertained. Juvenile delinquents, truants, and those attending special classes for mental defectives have been classified and marked in different colors. On the background of these enlarged maps all of the character-building agencies as well as the "attractive nuisances" (unwholesome influences) have been spotted so that they are easily discerned.

In order to determine what children do or would like to do during their leisure hours, questionnaires were distributed to the schools. On each playground and community center a census was taken of the children in daily attendance. This information was noted on maps to show the areas from which each character-building agency attracted children. These and many other worth-while facts are being gathered together and indexed so as to enable the directors-at-large to have a more intelligent approach to problems of the community.

The procedure followed in the first instance, that of contacting individuals and gangs on the streets, or in their meeting rooms, is well exemplified in the following cases taken from the records of the Director-at-Large:

*Case I.* In one section of San Francisco through which a railroad right of way extends to an industrial district of the city, there is an isolated hangout where tramps congregate in small groups and camp for the period between the arrival and departure time of their "special trains." The locality is one which the police and the Director-at-Large watch very carefully. On one winter evening, the Director-at-Large noticed three young boys in the group of four tramps gathered around the secluded fire. Fortunately a bluff was successful and the boys answered the call from the path above them. It developed that these fourteen-year-old boys had been visiting there regularly for several weeks, loafing and begging frequently with their unusual acquaintances. All of the boys were brought to the director of the playground who has worked untiringly with them. At the recommendation of the Director-at-Large, two of their parents were able to have their sons join a private

boys' club and attend the summer encampment; the other lad has had a trip to the ranch of his uncle.

*Case II.* While in the most delinquent section of his district, the Director-at-Large observed two boys fighting over the possession of a knife. Tony, the youngest, lost the fight and the knife. As he wiped the blood from his bleeding face he muttered, "My gang will get you." The Director-at-Large drove the young lad to the playground to give him first aid. When Tony's cuts were taken care of, he picked his shoe-shine box up and started for Telegraph Hill. The director drove him home.

This was the beginning of a friendly relation. Tony spoke of his gang and where they met, but not what they did. The Director-at-Large was a new client for Tony's after-school shoe-polishing business. They would often talk under the shades in the Plaza.

The activities of the little gang were known—stealing automobiles, bicycles, and automobiles ornaments. Gang fights were the most important. Tony was acquainted with the playground program and was taken there while an important game was being played. After several visits he accepted the idea of organizing a baseball team in his gang. The playground worker met the gang, ten in all, and organized the team. The gang leader, a very temperamental and boastful individual of fifteen years, of great physical powers, became their captain. The team played several games on the playground. The Director-at-Large and the playground leader worked together guiding the team along and slowly interested the boys in the playground program.

After three weeks of play four members of the team, including the captain, were chosen for the playground team. Gradually the gang feeling decreased. At the end of several months the following inventory was taken: One boy joined a church organization, six still attend the playground regularly, two sell papers during the day and go to the playground at night and one joined a glee club at another playground.

*Case III.* In a poor district of the city the Director-at-Large discovered a group of young men congregating regularly in the doorway of a vacant store. His introductory decoy was on that evening to ask one of them for the location of a certain street and residence of a boy known by him to be living in the vicinity. After the information was furnished, the Director-at-Large noticed apparently for the first time the size of the group of idlers. He asked his informant if they had ever been to the X Playground, and if there were enough in the group to enter a team in a coming Baseball Twilight League. It developed that the group, numbering seventeen young men whose ages ranged from eighteen to twenty-four years, met in one of three similar places each night. Several of them had heard of the playground located eight blocks away,

but the distractions of a large business thoroughfare were too great for them to cross it and then walk six long blocks.

There was little difficulty, after they had had one enjoyable night, to win the entire group, organize a good baseball team, and then develop a complete program of club activity under supervision at the center. Grateful fathers of two of the boys called at the center a month later, expressing their satisfaction at the adjustment which their sons were beginning to make. Evidence of ambition, agreeability at home, earlier retiring, and absolute sobriety were among the good effects which were beginning to show in the boys since the many hours of loafing and drunken rides ceased.

The procedure of contacting individuals referred by a cooperative agency can well be understood from the following cases taken from the records of the Director-at-Large:

*Case IV.* The Director-at-Large was notified by the Probation Officer that Robert had been arrested for stealing an automobile. The Director-at-Large met with the Probation Officer and examined Robert's record. The record showed that he lived with his father in a one-room apartment, that his mother was dead, that he was left without parental control during most of the day and night, that his intelligence was normal but his school grades were far below normal, and that he had in the past and was then keeping company with two boys, Lester and Thomas, who were on probation to the Juvenile Court for previous offenses. A meeting was arranged between the Probation Officer and Robert's father. At this meeting it was suggested that Robert attend a community center near home, in the afternoons and three nights a week.

Robert's father agreed to do all he could to see that the boy attended, and the Director-at-Large agreed that he would arrange a program at the community center which would occupy most of the boy's time. Similarly he arranged a program for Lester at a playground about ten blocks from the community center which Robert was attending.

The same procedure was then carried out for Thomas, for whom a program was arranged at a different place than for Lester and Robert. The directors of these playgrounds and community center made a special effort to interest these boys in a definite program. The Director-at-Large visited the home of each at least once a week and talked with the boys about their program. In a short time the three boys had established themselves in their respective recreational centers. They had found new and separate interests and friends under the proper guidance of the directors in charge.

In the majority of cases, arranging programs in separate parts of the district for individual boys of a gang succeeds in

breaking up the gang. This practice has also been found successful where a gang is in formation:

*Case V.* George, a sixteen-year-old Mexican lad, was referred by the Probation Officer. His father is dead. Mother, stepfather, two stepbrothers, nine and four years old, and three stepsisters, twelve, seven, and six, live in the rear of a barber shop in very small quarters. The mother is very bitter toward the boy and upset because the Juvenile Court did not put him away, and the stepfather is disgusted with him. For about eleven months he had been stealing money from home and spending it with his friends, mainly by renting automobiles and taking girls riding. One day he left home and took \$150, which was to have been used by his stepfather to pay the final installment on the barber shop. He was out of town for twelve days, during which time he spent all of the money. The boy is known to be very sneaky, dishonest, and a truant in school.

The Director-at-Large went to the barber shop to have his hair cut and after several visits convinced the stepfather that the boy needed parental love, guidance, security, and a little more leisure time, and supervised activities to keep him interested and occupied. What the father could not say in English he said in Spanish, and finally he decided to cooperate.

George and the Director-at-Large took several rides together and visited two of the nearest playgrounds where he became interested in the program, and began to take part in it. The Director-at-Large visited the father a week later and he remarked, "Say, what are you doing to George, he comes home, has his dinner, and while listening to the radio he falls asleep. You don't think he is sick, do you?"

Two months passed, with new friends, new environment, new games for George. And how he enjoyed it! One day George came to the Director-at-Large and said, "You know I would like to earn that money I stole and pay it back. My father has to pay for an extra barber. I'll go to a barber school in the day and in the evening I'll come to see you on the playground."

The stepfather agreed to send George to school. Now he attends the barber college during the day and the playground in the evening. The other boys who helped George spend the money were placed at other recreation centers and given leisure-time guidance.

To eradicate any misconception that the Director-at-Large limits himself to working with wards of the Juvenile Court the following cases are taken from the records of the Director-at-Large:

*Case VI.* The vice-principal of one of the junior high schools in referring Jack stated the boy's problems thus:

"Antisocial, behaves often in direct defiance of the wishes of an organized group of which he is a part. Sometimes acts alone, getting himself

into troubles which concern no other person. Acts as if he had few satisfactory relationships in work or play."

The statement of the problem proved accurate, even to the detail of his unsatisfactory relationships at play. He spent his spare time on the supervised school yard, very much as he did his school hours. He was despised there as a poor sport who apparently came there only to disrupt things.

The only possible thing to do in the case was to convince Jack in a friendly way of the necessity of a complete adjustment in another group. He was taken to the large playground in the district and his case frankly stated to the director in his presence, with particular stress being laid on the aim in view—to teach Jack to overcome poor sportsmanship.

Responsibilities of leadership were forced upon him, and, except for uprisings at less and less frequent intervals, he is a completely changed boy. He was also enrolled in a private boys' club near his home, and a similar manner of treatment recommended.

*Case VII.* John, aged fourteen, was reported to the Director-at-Large by the Diagnostic School. John's parents were divorced and John lived with his mother. The mother worked during the day, and very often was out at night, leaving John alone a great deal of the time. John spent much of his time in the evenings at picture shows and in the company of two other boys roaming about the streets of San Francisco. At school, due to his deportment, he was a problem boy. He was caught in the act of petty stealing on many occasions and he was a constant troublemaker. The Director-at-Large had several talks with John and his mother. It was apparent that the boy was in need of leisure-time guidance.

A club which could give John new and better associates and the guidance of an understanding older person would do much to make up for the apparent lack of discipline at home. With this in mind, the Director-at-Large arranged for John to join a club of boys of his age in one of the municipal recreation centers. As a member of this club, John found that his evenings were taken up in athletic games, meetings of the members of the club, and so on. And after three months he was spending most of his time with his new associates who were setting a new standard of conduct for him. In the recreation director he found a friend who tactfully and successfully changed John's views on many important topics. John showed considerable progress at school. Training rules of the club which required that a member of an athletic team be a non-smoker caused John to quit smoking in order to avoid the ridicule of his associates.

*Case VIII.* Edward was a boy aged sixteen whose parents moved from a country town to San Francisco. In the small town, Edward had many friends and he had been very happy. After three months

in the city he had made few friends in the high school he was attending. He spent much of his time in aimless roaming about the city. Edward was reported to the Director-at-Large by the principal of the school which he was attending, after circumstances had called to her attention that Edward was subject to moods and had threatened suicide.

The Director-at-Large talked to Edward and found that much of his trouble was due to the fact that he was in a strange city with nothing to occupy his attention, without friends, and regretting and resenting his new home. Edward was introduced by the Director-at-Large to the boys in the neighborhood community center. He was interested in the activities of one of the clubs and became a member. With proper guidance by the Director-at-Large he became acquainted with other facilities throughout the district which gave him an outlet for his leisure time.

All of the efforts of the Director-at-Large are not always successful. The following cases are taken from the records of two of our directors-at-large:

*Case IX.* Ralph was referred to the Director-at-Large by the Attendance Officer of the School Department. He was described as a queer boy who would probably need guidance in selecting his companions and places to play. He had moved to San Francisco from an isolated farm section of a neighboring state several weeks before and had recently been apprehended by the officer because of non-attendance at school.

Ralph was taken by the Director-at-Large to a school-yard playground. He appeared to appreciate the assistance offered but in fact failed to return to the playground. The Director-at-Large called at the boy's home again and found that he was spending most of his time alone at home during the afternoons. The lad was then brought to a neighborhood boys' club where a full and attractive program was arranged for him. He again appeared to be satisfied at the prospects of enjoyable hours, but even though his membership card had been furnished he failed to return to the boys' club.

When the Director-at-Large contacted the boy again it was at school. Conversation with his teacher who had, like the Director-at-Large, known him for only a short time, gave evidence that the school was having similar difficulty with Ralph. It was then agreed that following an interview with the boy's mother, a Diagnostic School test be given. The boy was found to have a glandular deficiency and is being treated.

It is hoped that when the treatments take effect, the boy may be successfully aided through further recreational guidance by the Director-at-Large.

*Case X.* Frank is a seventeen-year-old boy. His father works on the F.E.R.A. There are eleven children in the family, one of them married.

The home is very unclean; the furnishings are meager; the mother does not speak English. All the members of the family are of low mentality. The boys' ages are seventeen, sixteen, thirteen, and nine. The girls' ages are twenty-four, nineteen, fourteen, twelve, seven, six, and two.

Frank has been before the Juvenile Court on two occasions for burglary. He attends the ungraded school, where he is known to be an occasional truant and a boy who is easily influenced.

A leisure-time program was arranged for him by the Director-at-Large. He was very pleased and he remarked that he would return. The director of the playground saw Frank but once at the recreation center. When Frank was seen again a week later, he made several excuses for his failure to attend. One was that eight city blocks was too far to walk in order to participate in playground activities. This excuse was accepted. Then the Director-at-Large arranged another leisure-time program. The two met two days later to discuss it. Again Frank showed pleasure in the new program but he did not report.

Upon a second visit to his home the Director-at-Large was told that Frank would not go to the playground because it was too far away and he was not interested in playgrounds, but he was interested in finding work for the summer. He finally obtained work picking fruit in the country.

To gauge the success or failure of our program is a difficult task. If a boy accepts the program and advice of the Director-at-Large for a reasonable time, attends the playground or club with reasonable regularity, and makes an honest effort to participate in the activities, then it can be said that the Director-at-Large has been successful with the boy. But the continued success of the boy or gang depends on the influence and supervision of the leader in charge of the playground or club.

In the final analysis the success of the plan of a boy contacted by a Director-at-Large depends mainly upon the efforts of the home and all the other agencies working with the boy. The coordinating-council plan, and especially the district councils provide the much-needed opportunity for all agencies to meet on common ground and work out the problems of these very same boys who tomorrow will take their places in life—or in the "Big House."

Recently, a system has been devised to record the various cases received by the Director-at-Large. Referral blanks are distributed to all agencies (schools, playgrounds, Juvenile Court, community centers). When one of these agencies has a boy in



need of leisure-time guidance a blank is filled out and forwarded to the Director-at-Large of the district in which the boy resides. The Director-at-Large then briefly enters the case in a book. When he has placed the boy in some playground or club he makes an entry of his placement.

If it is necessary to make other placements, subsequent entries are made. If after several months (the time depending largely on the conduct of the boy) the case is closed, the Director-at-Large files the entire case and progress report for future reference.

In one district during a period of six months 32 cases were received, of which 3 absolutely failed to accept the recreation program offered by the Director-at-Large. In another district, of the 30 cases received, 2 failed to accept the program offered by the Director-at-Large.

In San Francisco the Recreation Department is satisfied that the director-at-large plan as a crime-preventive measure has shown sufficient results to warrant a further development of the program. With the other departments of the Coordinating Council it is now working toward establishing five more district councils so that each district in the city will have a director-at-large to work with the boys, representing the Recreation Department and cooperating with the police, Juvenile Court, schools, health and relief agencies in making our city a better place for children to live in.

**PART II**  
**SCHOOL PROGRAMS**



## Chapter VI

### CHARACTER BUILDING FOR CRIME PREVENTION, PUBLIC SCHOOL 181, BROOKLYN, N.Y.

NATHAN PEYSER, PH.D.\*

*Late Principal, Public School 181, Brooklyn, N.Y.*

The program that is to be described in this chapter represents one aspect of the total educational program of a public school in the City of New York. It is not a mere device, or drive, or special project based upon an unproved unicausal theory of delinquency. It was developed and carried forward over a period of twenty years by the author, the principal of Public School 181, Brooklyn, as a practical expression of his educational philosophy. It has for its objective the provision of an integrated education for the children of an urban neighborhood, through the

\* Deceased February 8, 1936, shortly after the completion of this chapter. Dr. Peyser was preparing a revision at the time of his death, but had not completed it. The editors have therefore had to take the liberty of slightly revising this article without having the approval of the author himself. The revision consists largely of a contraction of the article without, of course, affecting the point of view of Dr. Peyser.

B. S., College of the City of New York; M.A., Ph.D., New York University. Until his recent accidental and untimely death, Dr. Peyser was a well-known leader in the movement to bring schools into vital relationship with community life and to counteract the mass-treatment of children through routinized school curricula. He was a teacher of wide and varied experience and for several years the principal of P.S. 181 in Brooklyn, New York, widely known as an experimental school. Dr. Peyser was a frequent contributor to educational, sociological, psychological and criminological journals, and had carried on numerous experiments in educational methods. He had served on many governmental and private committees, including Governor Lehman's Commission on Penal Education, and had extensively lectured at the College of the City of New York, Hunter College, Fordham University, and other academic institutions. He was a member of many professional societies. The cause of progressive education and crime prevention has lost a fruitful worker in the death of Dr. Peyser.—EDITORS' NOTE.

mobilization of all the educational forces of the community in which the school is located. The true significance of the movement indicated, cannot be interpreted except in terms of its underlying purposes. Its relationship to the prevention of delinquency can be appreciated only as the motivating sociological, psychological, and educational premises are understood.

The objective of education is the development of healthy, happy, courageous, moral, and efficient men and women whose ways of living will prove of greatest service not only to themselves, but to the community as well. Our modern concept of democracy in education demands not only that we give to every child in our society as much educational opportunity as he can profit by, but that we make available to him that kind of education from which he can profit the most. The ideal is to develop each to the maximum of his potentialities, with such personal realization, however, directed toward goals of social good as well as of individual advantage.

The present social and economic crisis has impressed upon us more sharply than theory could, the point of view that the function of education is much broader than the teaching of the formal subjects of the course of study. Teachers can no longer conceive their function solely in terms of instruction in arithmetic, grammar, history, geography, and the other curricular divisions. Today in the schools, we strive for the scholastic growth of our charges, but we are also regardful of their health, their educational and vocational guidance, their emotional stability, their social adjustments, their civic relationships, and their character trends. We are reinterpreting our educational objectives and procedures in the light of normal life goals and in terms of personal experiencing and social participation. We are casting aside as outworn the philosophy that school is a thing apart from life, and that its exclusive interest is the mastery of subject matter.

The school is but one of the many agencies functioning in the life of the child. Unfortunately, in the present state of social organization, its best efforts are frequently neutralized by the more violent, intimate, emotion-arousing conditions of bad home environment, deteriorating economic circumstances, and low social, political and ethical standards in the community itself. In the face of sharp conflict between ethical standards

and moral practices we are expected to build character in the young. In the school, we set forth and emphasize a high code of morals based upon the principle of honesty, sincerity, loyalty to ideals, cooperation, and service. On all sides, however, in business, politics, advertising, finance, journalism, and international relationships, our students are confronted with concrete and too often successful illustrations of skepticism, hypocrisy, dishonesty, misrepresentation, opportunism, prejudice, cruelty, and selfish individualism. Honesty does not always prove to be the best policy; the Golden Rule is not at all times the guiding principle of the average citizen. Good deeds do not always bring just rewards, nor evil conduct inevitable punishment. Bigotry and prejudice still exist in the society in whose schools we hope to teach the spiritual kinship and equality of all men. The criminal does not represent just his own failure, or the failure of the school. To a much greater degree he is the failure of the home, the church, the neighborhood; of our industrial, political, and social arrangements. He is the failure of parenthood, of friendships, of companionships, of governmental controls, indeed, of humanity itself.

Education, then, is much more than schooling. As important as we recognize classroom instruction to be, we also realize that the development of the child is proceeding not alone under our direction but, at least to equal degree, outside of our supervision. The boy and the girl are being educated throughout their consciously active existence. Such education takes place from the moment of birth. Every influence, in school and out of school, that plays upon the child and affects his behavior is an educational force. The parent, the brother and sister, the playmate, the minister, the teacher, the movie character, the gang leader, the neighborhood "big shot," and the tabloid newspaper editor are all educators of our children. Educational situations are ever confronting human beings, and are playing their parts in the molding of character and personality.

To these influences the child reacts consciously or unconsciously, for good or for ill. But it is out of these interactions, not solely out of the lessons of the schoolroom that he fashions his ideas, habits, attitudes, goals, interests, appreciations, and ideals. As outcomes of his satisfactions and frustrations, as reactions to his successes and failures in adjustment, he engenders his likes and dislikes; his ambitions; his attitudes toward property,

institutions, and laws; and his patterns of response to self and to others. It is out of this complexity and continuity of experience that he develops his personality and character traits and his ways of living.

For character is the integrated product of all of life's experiences. It is not a something that can be shaped from without by teacher or jailer; nor is it an internal entity that the individual himself, by sheer effort of will, can mold like a ball of clay. It is not an easily reached something within the human organism that can be deliberately and formally trained through a series of set lessons. Character is the person himself behaving as a social being functioning. It is the totality of his habits, attitudes, desires, fears, fixations, inhibitions, prejudices, loves, hates, values, standards, controls, and ideals, in so far as these determine his behavior in the various social groupings in which he moves. It is a function of his conscious and unconscious motivations. It is the dynamic quality of the life pattern that living in the home, the street, the playground, the theater, and the school, has fashioned for him.

There is no short cut to character. It is not to be presented to the child ready-made; it cannot be secured through a specific device or pet methodology. It must be achieved by the person himself.

Behavior is a psychosocial product, and delinquency, like every other form of human behavior, is not simply an individual problem. It is, to a much greater extent, a social problem. Crime prevention will not be realized through punitive measures alone, nor yet through isolated philanthropic or pedagogical devices. Criminality is a community challenge, and requires for its solution, not only classroom techniques, but the united, intelligent, directed effort of all the agencies and instrumentalities that can be brought to bear upon the situation.

Environmental conditioning is the most significant fact in delinquency causation. It is no mere accident that most delinquents and criminals, as well as the most serious problem cases in our schools, hail from relatively localized urban and rural areas, with well-defined conditions of social deterioration called delinquency zones. The sociogenic background of most antisocial patterns is very evident in the life studies that we have made of juvenile delinquents and adult criminals. Even such cases of

behavior disorder as are labeled psychogenic or neurotic are probably precipitated by environmental experiences in which unfortunate familial interrelationships have played the most important parts.

In most instances of delinquency and criminality we find records of unfortunate parental relationships, misunderstandings, family bickerings, divided parents, unwanted children, and absence of parental control. As we study the life histories of criminals we are impressed with the persistent appearance of the heartbreaking, soul-destroying influences of poverty, squalor, personal frustration, insecurity, and emotional conflict. We read the story of parental ignorance, indifference, brutality, and rejection. Again and again we face the pathetic tale of the conflict between the generations, between the old and the new, the foreign-born and the children of the foreign-born. We see good parental intentions frustrated by the complexities of present-day American economic and social life. Over and over again is repeated the tale of bad companionship, inadequate and improper play, and other essential expressional opportunities; of degraded neighborhood surroundings, gang influence, vicious commercialized recreations; and, in at least 50 per cent of instances, of all the deplorable circumstances that are associated with the slum areas of our cities and the run-down sections of our rural communities.

In many cases we find evidences of mental defectiveness. We discern emotional conflicts that become progressively worse and lead the individual into undesirable forms of behavior, which, because of inadequate early attention and treatment, develop into antisocial forms of conduct finally labeled by society as criminal and punished accordingly. In proportions much greater than those to be found in the general population, we encounter mental and emotional maladjustments, feeble-mindedness, psychopathic inferiority, psychoneurosis, and potential psychosis. In the majority of cases, we find histories of school failure, of retardation, and of rejection of the traditional subject matter of our school systems.

But though the problem is fundamentally educational, the school, as I have pointed out, cannot be regarded as the only responsible agent. Statistical compilation indicates that the average criminal, twenty-one years of age, has spent no more than



4 per cent of his waking time exposed to school educational influences, while 96 per cent of his time has been spent in circumstances equally vital but educationally destructive. Consider further that the school does not receive the child until he is six or seven years of age. By this time, emotional attitudes, repressions, conflicts, and conditioned reflexes, which often prove to be the root causations and impulsions of future misconduct, have been determined.

But though the school in itself cannot assume the sole responsibility for character development and delinquency prevention, it can and should do considerably more than it has been doing up to the present. What should be the school's activities in respect to the prevention of delinquency?

Before answering this question it must be recognized that if crime prevention is to be effective, we need a program that will carry forth intelligently, courageously, and persistently into the total life situations of our children, into the twenty-four hour environment, embracing not alone the school but also the home and community. We need a program that will be militant and scientific, that will study and diagnose social and psychological situations; that will guide, advise, encourage, inspire, and sustain parental effort; that will discover and combat home and community conditions that destroy, distort, and frustrate child development; and that will provide the instrumentalities and opportunities for education, recreation, and personal expression which full mental, physical, and emotional development require. We must mobilize all of the now isolated, discordant agencies that are at work within the community for united, intelligent, and directed attack upon the problem. We must awaken in parents and other citizens of local communities true civic interest, understanding, and a sense of personal responsibility. We must develop a community consciousness that will enlist all within the community into membership in a "child crusade" to save children from delinquency, criminality, maladjustment, personal failure, and social uselessness. We must not wait for the onset of delinquency to seek the cooperation of public and private agencies. We must bring all forces that can be of service in this field into intimate and continuously coordinated action, so that situations may be anticipated and preventive action taken in advance of overt criminality.

Why should the school assume the leadership in such a far-flung enterprise? If not the school, then around which community agency shall the movement for preventing delinquency focalize? The Church? The Police Department? The Health Department? The Social Settlement? The Charity Organization? The Chamber of Commerce? The Crime Commission? None of these is in a position of vantage to take the initiative and the permanent leadership. They are too local, denominational, temporary, politically or partisanly controlled, or too single functioned, to carry the project forward permanently, effectively, and universally.

To me it seems that the school system, the united school organization of the community, is the ideal instrumentality. In the last analysis, the problem of preventing delinquency is its problem. The school is the one agency which reaches into every home in the community. It has the advantage of entry into each home through its most sensitive spot, the child. It has the confidence and respect of parents and other citizens. As it is nonsectarian, it does not carry with it prejudices and antagonisms; it has the confidence of all groups. It has the cooperation and support of social and public agencies. It is enduring. It is regarded as an integral part of the community, not as an inter-loper or outsider. To it there attaches no atmosphere of private philanthropy. It is guided and administered by socially minded and professionally trained men and women who have made the educational care of children their lifework. It possesses the support of the city and the state, and the background of whatever authority may be needed to further its purposes and achieve its objectives.

Acceptance by the school authorities of leadership in such a program should not carry with it the imposition upon classroom teachers and school supervisors of the burdens of additional and prolonged social, recreational, and other forms of after-school activity. The extended application of the program to be described carries with it the maximal use of the school buildings for recreational, cultural, aesthetic, and civic activities for young and old; it means the opening of school buildings from eight o'clock in the morning until twelve o'clock midnight, at least six days each week.

It demands the employment of additional staffs of teachers, club leaders, and recreational workers to carry on the additional

activities. Home visitors, social investigators, community organizers, psychologists, and psychiatrists must be brought into the picture in their proper places. Additional administrators and supervisors must be assigned to plan, administer, and vitalize the procedures.

The work of schools in crime prevention may be roughly divided into two aspects: those dealing with school-community relationships, and those concerned with the internal activities of the school itself and, related thereto, of the home and the church. As to the first, all school divisions dealing with problems of child maladjustment,—Guidance Bureau, Department of Attendance, Division of Special Classes, Mental Hygiene Department, Visiting Teachers—should be integrated through some one unifying or coordinating force within the school system. Such a specialized organization should coordinate its efforts closely with other public agencies functioning in this field—the Juvenile Aid or Crime Prevention Bureau, the Domestic Relations Court, the Probation and Parole Departments, the Department of Public Welfare, the Health Department, and the Park Department.

Our goal is not paternalism. It is the reverse—the guidance and education of the home into the fuller and more effective fulfillment of its natural obligations. We are not advocating the assumption by the school of tasks that properly belong to the police, the clinic, or the charity society. Quite the contrary, we are asking the return to these and other agencies of the burdens which, in our present state of social disorganization, the schools have had to assume in addition to their specialized duties. We are asking all other social institutions to coordinate and integrate their efforts with ours for more efficient social planning and community education and for more intelligent activity for the prevention of human maladjustment.

During the years 1914 to 1917, the author as principal of Public School 39, Manhattan, in the East Harlem section of New York City attempted to put such views into practice. The school was located in the heart of what was then the most serious delinquency zone in the greater city. During the year 1915, 601 arrests for juvenile delinquency were made in the East Harlem district. The offenses ranged from vagrancy to burglary, assault, and sexual perversion. This condition among the children

was a reflection of the adult situation. During the same year, there were 10,477 arrests and summonses among the grown-ups in the section. There were about three times as many cases of juvenile delinquency and twice as many felonies among the adults in the two police precincts represented as in any other district of like size in the greater city.

In the Harlem School, there were at the time 1,315 boys in the third, fourth, fifth and sixth school years; their ages ranged from nine to fifteen years. A hundred and sixty-eight of them, or 13 per cent, had previously been arrested one or more times, many of them for offenses that would have sent adults to prison. Truancy was abnormally high; scholarship was far below the city norm. The disciplinary situation within the school was most difficult.

An experiment in community organization was launched in an effort to combat this situation of child maladjustment. An attempt was made to carry the effort out from the schools of the district into the homes, streets, playgrounds, gang haunts, and places of commercialized amusement. Organization began with the development of a Child Welfare League among the teachers. Various committees were organized for the study of neighborhood situations. A parents' association was then formed and fused with the teachers' association. The principal of the adjoining school was then called into conference on the problem. He responded immediately to the program as visualized. He organized a parent-teacher association and established it on a functional basis similar to the one in Public School 39. The two organizations were then fused to form the East Harlem Community Association. Educational activity was carried on with the objective of informing the citizens, the social agencies, and the civic associations of the East Harlem district of the nature of the problem and the purposes and plans of the newly formed community league. Churches, settlements, missions, nurseries, libraries, clinics, charity organizations, and other welfare units, as well as the three other public schools of the district, were appealed to and brought into cooperation.

Among the activities launched during the years 1914, 1915, 1916, and 1917 were:

1. The conduct of a social survey of the East Harlem Community. This included a study of the health situation, of housing

conditions, of moral conditions, of industrial and other vocational activities, of financial circumstances, of social relationships, and of the educational, religious, recreational, and social-welfare opportunities within the district.

2. The employment of two full-time, paid, community workers who acted as field secretaries, made neighborhood contacts, enlisted the cooperation of related organizations, visited homes, and made social investigations of problem cases, preparatory to their presentation before the League's Child Adjustment Bureau.

3. A Community Delinquency Prevention Court or Adjustment Bureau, which sat one day a week for the study, diagnosis, and treatment of problem cases referred to it by principals, teachers, shopkeepers, parents, and police officials. This unofficial adjustment bureau was made up of five persons—two school principals, a social worker, and two community representatives. Cases of truancy, behavior disturbances, home incorrigibility, petty neighborhood delinquency, and parental neglect were considered. In advance of the hearing, the situation was studied as thoroughly as possible, the home of the child was visited, he was given a physical examination, the offense was investigated, and the past behavior history and educational record of the child were traced. The matter was then presented to the committee in the presence of the parent, the child, the teacher, and often of the neighborhood complainant. Effort was made through informal discussion to diagnose the condition and to arrange for more or less permanent adjustment. Recommendations were given for home and school remedial procedure. The child was then referred to a big brother or sister for follow-up.

4. A local big-brother and sister group made up of teachers, parents, and other interested citizens. Older brothers and sisters were also recruited for this work.

5. The development of a school center for recreational purposes, open afternoons for children, and evenings for adolescents and adults.

6. The opening of playgrounds. One of the first back-yard playgrounds in the city was established by removing the fences separating the backyards of the houses in one square block. Several streets were closed with the cooperation of the police department long before the policy of closing streets for play purposes was accepted as municipal policy in New York City.

Several vacant lots were adapted for play purposes and placed under supervision. Three after-school athletic centers were opened in local public schools.

7. A music settlement was established for instruction on musical instruments without cost or at nominal rates.

8. Committees on housing, street safety, commercialized recreation, relief, and health carried on studies and cooperated with public departments and private organizations in the correction of abuses discovered by them.

9. Children were sent to fresh-air and convalescent homes from Friday afternoons to Monday mornings.

10. A dental clinic was established.

11. A school lunch system was instituted in Public School 39. There were none at that time under the supervision of the Department of Education.

12. After-school music, art, athletic, scout, and other clubs for children were organized.

On this background of experience in a crime-prevention program the author went to the principalship of Public School 181 in Brooklyn, where he launched a similar experiment. During the past ten years, the program has been developing differently, however, than it did in Harlem because of the individual nature of the school and social situations. The approach to the organization was made through the formation of a Mothers' League. The objectives of this association were far broader than those of the traditional mothers' club. The work of the League was carried on by a number of active committees, among them relief, child health, preschool education, teacher cooperation, hospital-ity, social welfare, neighborhood, home visitation, and parental education. After this unit had functioned for some time, a Men's League was formed. At first it had its own field of work. Later, the two divisions were fused to form the Flatbush Community League. In this organization, the teachers took membership as well as places on the Board of Officers and on the various committees.

The next step was the conduct of what might be called community education, to bring into the League other citizens resident in the neighborhood, and to secure the cooperation of other local organizations. Neighborhood surveys were undertaken, and one project after the other was introduced under the direction of a

committee, until twenty-five such committees were constituted, each carrying on one phase of the program. A listing of some of these will give an indication of the objectives and activities of the organization. Among them are housing, child health, community health, recreation, music, little theater, nursery school, relief, schools, public library, morals and police, civic forum, legislation, publications, delinquency prevention, ways and means, hospitality, and adult education.

Many projects have been attempted. We regard them all as experimental. Each is continued only as long as the situation requires it, or up to the point where the Department of Education or some other organization will take over its financial support and administrative management. For instance, the Street Safety Committee has conducted a traffic survey of the district, has clocked traffic at the corners, and has been most active in securing traffic controls at the dangerous crossings. The League has been conducting a completely organized nursery school, with the cooperation of the Federal Nursery School Committee. A building near the public school has been rented, and in it children between the ages of two and five are accommodated until they are of age for admission to the school kindergarten. On the staff are fully trained kindergarten-nursery school teachers, a parent educator, a physician, a nurse, and a nutritionist. In this same building was developed a preschool child medical clinic for preventive work with young children. This activity has been temporarily suspended because of the withdrawal of physicians by the Board of Health which had been cooperating with us in this work. The objective was the securing of a health inventory of the preschool children of the district; the discovery, at the earliest possible moment, of physical defects and deficiencies; and the giving to the parents of advice concerning the correction of these defects as well as the hygienic upbringing of the little ones. A dental clinic has also been established and manned with dentists and dental hygienists.

The cooperation of neighborhood physicians, dentists, optometrists, and druggists has been gained so that no family in the community need go without immediate medical help while waiting for the slower efforts of organized charities or medical agencies to reach their cases. Where medical help is imperative, a physician calls promptly at the home. Medicine, food, and

necessary supplies are provided without cost to needy families. Meanwhile the Home Relief Bureau or organized charity is contacted and brought into the case for more permanent adjustment. Children are taken to clinics, dental and surgical treatment is secured, and aftercare is provided at convalescent homes. The League has an office in the school building, and is continuously active in caring for the clothing, food, and other needs of the children, and, in numerous cases, of their families.

Three playgrounds have been developed in a neighborhood which up to this time had none for its children. Many clubs and Scout troops have been organized for boys and girls, and leaders trained in this work have been drawn from the association membership. The school building has been opened as a playground and athletic center for boys and girls after school hours.

Support for all projects has thus far been drawn entirely from the local community, through membership dues and financial returns from the various bazaars and other functions that have been conducted. We make effort, however, to gain the cooperation of a public agency, as soon as possible, to take over the permanent support and conduct of the activity. This has been the case with the nursery school, the playgrounds, the recreation center, the adult-education institute, the music school, the dental clinic, and the preschool child clinic.

Over a period of two years, an interesting activity was carried on each Saturday morning as part of the recreational and educational work of the association. A Saturday club, consisting of more than 200 children, met at the school and was taken in groups of five or six to museums, parks, concerts, selected motion-picture performances, art exhibits, and places of historic and educational interest. The Recreation Committee of the League directed this work and arranged the trips, providing adult leaders from its own membership of parents and teachers.

A program of adult education is being carried forward. The school building is open four days each week from eight o'clock in the morning until ten or eleven o'clock in the evening to make possible the conduct of the various recreational and educational activities of the League. For several years, building fees were paid to the Board of Education to have the school placed at our disposal. Instructors were obtained with considerable difficulty from various public and private agencies, and often volunteer



teachers were called upon to take classes for which there was demand. This same situation existed as far as the recreational activities for children were concerned. Last year, however, the school was declared an official community and adult-education center. A separate staff of recreational workers and instructors was assigned, and a supervisory assistant was appointed to take over the direction of the after-school program. Classes in the following subjects were established: psychology, children's problems, speech improvement, public speaking, elementary French, elementary Italian, elementary Spanish, advanced Spanish, typewriting, current events, modern European history, contract bridge, creative writing, homemaking, gracious living, contemporary literature, and health education for men and for women. A bulletin containing items of community and civic interest, together with educational and guidance notes for parents, is issued monthly. Twice a year this bulletin appears in magazine form.

An interesting aspect of the community work is its cultural participation in music and dramatics. A community symphonic orchestra has been organized, and classes have been established for voice training, and for instruction in harmony, history of music, piano, flute, and other instruments of the orchestra. Classes for children are held in the afternoons, and for adults in the evenings. A little theater has been established under professional direction. The Parents' Minstrel Troupe is now preparing its second show. A civic forum has been held monthly for the discussion of vital problems of local and general interest. Social functions are part of the regular program of the association. Periodically, community dances, bridges, theatricals, musical entertainments, and other affairs are held.

As part of the program, a Junior Service League has been formed among the children of the school. This unit participates as far as possible in projects of school and neighborhood interest. A self-governing program is being carried forward, many clubs have been organized, and an eyeglass fund is being supported for the aid of poorer children who need assistance. The children enter into the work of the little theater, the music school, and other activities of the parent organization. One of the most recent attempts has been the development of an alumni division. Effort is being made to bring the graduates of the school into the

work, and to have them cooperate in the communal activities of the League.

Largely through the efforts of the Junior Service Division, a mothers' council, composed of two parent representatives from each class of the school, has been organized to serve as a direct link between the Community League and the school itself. These mothers meet weekly during school hours, under the direction of their chairman and of a faculty advisor, to discuss ways and means in which the association may contribute to the well-being of the school itself. Among the projects taken in hand by this council and supported by the larger organization is the creation and equipment of a nature room and museum; the development and equipment of a new school library for the younger children; the launching of a school farm and garden; improvement of the school lunchroom; improvement of the dental clinic; and participation in class and club excursions, as part of the activity program of the school.

The final step in the program was the gathering together of a coordinating council of agencies. Forty-two organizations, religious, educational, philanthropic, civic, and communal were represented at the initial meeting. Representatives of parent associations, schools, chambers of commerce, churches, charities, children's societies, Crime Prevention Bureau of the Police Department, and neighborhood associations have met several times for the discussion of problems relating to the social health of the community. Committees were planned to consider problems of housing, relief, education, recreation, child behavior, health, and street safety. Where situations can be taken care of effectively by one of the agencies represented, the matter is left entirely in its hands. Where, however, it is advisable to bring to bear the united force of all organizations, the council takes action. Through this council, which is still in process of development, we hope that we may be able to coordinate local facilities more fully and bring them to bear upon general and special problems. Every school supervisor realizes the difficulty of contacting and securing immediate cooperation from the appropriate agency when need arises. Much loss of time inevitably takes place, and often it becomes impossible to make correct contact. Such a council may prove to be a very effective device by which not only the school but every other organization represented may

bridge the gap between itself and the other agencies whose cooperation may be required at any moment.

In all of these activities we are but experimenting. The particular project is not the vital factor. It is the large goal that is significant. Particular activities come and go. Some serve their purpose and are then discontinued. Others prove worthy of permanent adoption. Still others are attempted but peter out for one reason or another, for lack of community interest and support, or of official encouragement and assistance, or of trained personnel and financial backing.

Programs of community organization that aim to bring the community itself into action are attended with numerous difficulties. It is a relatively simple matter to bring together into a council a small number of representatives of public and private agencies. It is an extremely difficult problem to organize and hold together over a period of years as a functioning body, the people—the men and women—who make up the real community. Involved in such a venture are all of the weaknesses of the community, of the human beings in that community. Until such programs are accepted as social or educational policy and are set up as integral parts of public organization, with permanent administrative and field staffs to plan and administer the activities, they will lack complete efficiency and permanence. Depending, as they must, upon volunteer workers and upon the enthusiasm and self-sacrifice of individual leaders, their projects will carry on in spurts, now rising to feverish bursts of activity, now waning almost to extinction, until set into fresh activity by a new surge of enthusiasm within the organization. At critical moments, volunteer workers find themselves drawn away by other demands, personally more vital, perhaps more remunerative.

Under the most favorable of circumstances, community cooperation is affected by personal jealousies and antagonisms, by religious prejudices, social indifference, political maneuvering and ambition, and by efforts at self-aggrandizement. Professional jealousy exists among social and civic workers, and organizations are still reluctant to work together for common social purposes because of fear that the "credit" for accomplishment may be taken from them. Some fear "poaching on their private preserves." Sections that are populated by varied racial and religious groupings find their unity of purpose conflicting with

long-conditioned prejudices and fears. Varied political and social philosophies are aroused and tend to cause dissension and occasional breaches in action. In such an organization Catholics, Protestants, and Jews; colored and whites; conservatives, progressives, and radicals; Republicans, Democrats, New Dealers, Socialists, and Communists take membership and seek to express their special viewpoints concerning mooted questions. The most discouraging factor, however, is indifference and apathy on the part of the great mass of citizens.

In the development of the East Harlem and Flatbush Community Leagues, all of these complications have evidenced themselves. Again and again the very existence of the program has been threatened; situations, petty and large, most of them entirely unrelated to the project itself, have repeatedly threatened to disturb the progress of the work. Only patience, courage and enthusiasm on the part of the officers and executives have made it possible to sustain faith in the purposes of the organization. These difficulties are inevitable in any project of democratic community organization. They simply point out the paramount need for further social education, and for increased participation by American citizens in socialized activities that will bring them into cooperative relationship with their fellow citizens in communal and civic projects making for the increased well-being of all.

The objective of the program thus far described is the setting up of machinery for community action to secure the most favorable environmental conditions possible for child growth and development. It seeks to make parents and other citizens of the school region conscious of needs and weaknesses, in order that they may obtain remedial action through united strength. It aims to gain for the community those opportunities—educational, recreational, health, and self-expressional—demanded by the natural wants of children and adults. All this represents, however, but one aspect of a complete program for child development and delinquency prevention. We still have confronting us the problem of developing *internal* controls. Constructive work must be done within the home, the church and the school to develop character and integrate personality, to develop wholesome habits, attitudes, goals, interests, and ideals. Here is where the school finds further opportunity to contribute to the prevention of delinquency.

The conservation of the mental health of the children is an all-important consideration. We must do everything in our power in the schools to protect their emotional integrity. The mental hygiene approach must be accepted by all teachers and supervisors. The interactions of social life in the home, the playground, and the school are fraught with persistent threats to normal emotional and mental development. Restraints, failures and disappointments, inevitably experienced, lead in sensitive organisms to conflicts, fears, antagonisms, feelings of insecurity, and often complexes of more serious nature. How to preserve children from undue shocks, and how to guide them in adjusting themselves to unavoidable difficulties are vital problems in child training.

The experience of repeated failure is one of the most serious threats to emotional integrity. It is not strange that studies of inmates in correctional institutions should indicate school retardation as the factor most frequently associated with delinquency. By retardation is meant slow progress through the grades resulting from "being held back," that is, from school failure. Out of 423 cases in the New York City Reformatory for whom I had complete original school records, 357 or 84.4 per cent were retarded one to eleven terms. The situation among the inmates of the House of Refuge was even more striking. Out of 166 cases, for whom I had complete educational histories, 154 or 92.8 per cent were retarded. School failure appears to have been the unfortunate experience of these lads more than any other condition, including poverty, broken homes, absence of religious association, physical defect, mental defectiveness, psychopathic states, or even truancy.

These conclusions seem to be borne out by the studies of other investigators who have approached this problem from other angles and have used different techniques of study. Failure is written large in the school histories of the great majority of the boys. We must not infer from this that retardation is the direct or the only cause of delinquency in these cases. It is undoubtedly a direct, major provocative factor in many instances. Lack of success leads to disinterest, discouragement, antagonism, rebellion, truancy, and other forms of defensive and compensatory behavior. The great frequency of its occurrence in delinquent groups, however, the extreme dislike with which most of the

boys spoke of their school experiences, and the findings of our retardation studies in the New York schools indicate that, without question, there are underlying causative factors common to both retardation and delinquent behavior. Retardation, then, must be regarded as symptomatic of maladjustment which, in many instances, will eventuate in serious behavior disturbance.

During the year 1933, the reports of the Superintendent of Schools of New York indicated a retardation rate of 28 per cent for the elementary schools of the city. Apparently 84.4 per cent of the delinquent cases in one institution, and 92.8 per cent in the other have been contributed by the 28 per cent retarded in the schools, while the normal and accelerated 72 per cent have presented but 15 per cent to the reformatory population and less than 8 per cent to the House of Refuge group. Assuming the basic fact of common underlying causation, we may reach the conclusion that a broad attack in the schools upon retardation in terms of its antecedent conditions will also reach the factors that are responsible for later delinquency and may represent one of the most significant approaches to the prevention of crime that we have yet found.

A program of community action will do much. A revision of school procedure will do more. Courses of study must be revised radically; classes must be reduced in size; much greater freedom of curriculum adjustment must be taken by supervisors and teachers; diagnostic and remedial teaching must be stressed; activity, creation, and constructive units of work must find fuller application. "No child must be a failure," must become our slogan, or at least our ideal, in the schools. We must discover, in each child's case, that in which he can be successful and build upon it. Socialized programs and individual techniques of instruction must be extended. We must eliminate any regimentation of children that still obtains in our schools, any uniformity of objectives and of standards of judging children, any attempt to hammer all out in the same mold and to measure all by the same preconceived standards. Character-building programs must be extended but must not be formalized through artificial devices or be reduced to the glib vocalization of words relating to good sentiments and ideas. Nor should they be reduced to formal, set lessons. The program should be concrete and prac-

tical and should be integrated with the entire life of the child in school and out of school.

I cannot within the limits of this chapter describe all of the procedures of school and class organization, of curriculum adjustment, and of methodology that we have introduced into Public School 181 as part of our total educational program. Our self-governing procedure may prove of interest from the standpoint of character building. At the very outset of schooling, a personality inventory of each child is begun. This is cumulative in nature and is passed on to succeeding teachers as the child is promoted or transferred from class to class. Character report cards for all pupils are sent home periodically for the guidance of parents. Habits and attitudes are stressed in the early grades. Undesirable reactions are made the basis of early study and action. Atypical conditions, physical, mental or emotional, are given specialized attention, medical, psychological, psychiatric, and pedagogical. Special classes have been developed for all types of handicapped children, for the crippled, the cardiopathic, the hard of hearing, the near-blind, the anemic, the undernourished, the speech defective, the mentally subnormal, the special subject disability, and the retarded adolescent.

At as early a stage as possible in the school development of the pupils, they are given opportunities to be of service to the organization of which they are a part and to participate in its government. The qualities desirable for good citizenship are made evident to them gradually through concrete situations occurring in the life of the school and the community. These habits and attitudes we sum up for convenience under the slogan of the "Four C's"—Cleanliness (body, clothing, speech, thoughts); Courtesy (politeness, refinement, consideration for others); Cooperation (helpfulness, service to class, school, home, community); and Control (self-control).

When the children reach the fifth year, they are placed on self-government. Numerous responsibilities are given them as privileges. They are relieved progressively of monitorial and other forms of external supervision; they are permitted to move through the building, up and down the stairs, to and from assemblies, and in and out of classrooms under their own guidance. As situations arise, the pupils are expected to exercise judgment in solving them.

From the disciplinary standpoint, the teacher finds greater responsibility than ever falling upon her; instead of being the dictator of conduct, she must be the observer, diagnostician, and guide, noting needs and weaknesses, analyzing conditions, and advising, instructing, encouraging, and inspiring. We are using self-government as a procedure to develop ability to govern self. The program is not the formalized school-city plan, in which students selected as officials exercise authority over the other members of the school community. Our goal is self-control, the development of responsibility of each for his own behavior.

After a period of self-government, the students are judged by their teachers as to whether or not they have been living, under their own guidance, up to the standards of self-government. Those who are approved are admitted to the first level of approval. The members must secure the certification, not only of their teachers, but of their parents as well, who must vouch that those recommended have been living up to the standards of the "Four C's" in their homes as well as in the school. In this way, we aim to motivate a carry-over of training into the outside experiences of the pupils. Higher standards are then set, and finally, those who in the judgment of teachers, parents, and fellow pupils are adjudged as self-governing in the school, the home, the street, and the playground are admitted to the highest ranking in the honor group and are rendered eligible to serve as officers of the Junior Service League.

Do what we will, we shall probably continue to have with us the perverse, the neurotic, the defective, the delinquent, the eccentric, the disorderly, the undependable, and the victims of unfortunate home, family, and neighborhood relationships. Not every member of this group will become a criminal later, nor will every one of the so-called normal group develop into a good, serviceable member of society. We must not see pathology in every individual variation, nor human disaster in every social conflict. Nevertheless these conditions are potential factors in delinquency causation.

In every school organization, we find, to a variable degree depending upon the economic and social character of the population and the nature of the local neighborhood environment, numbers of children who are passing through these stages of development and are revealing in their in-school and out-of-school



activities the behavior and other maladjustments which, in numerous cases, will later prove to have been the initial stages in delinquency growth. This conclusion fits in with the experience of every teacher and supervisor in the delinquency areas of our cities. Each can recall problem children whose difficulties and reactions to situations were premonitory of more serious trouble later, and actually did eventuate in criminal conflicts which might have been prevented had adequate machinery been at hand to take care of the situation in its incipency.

In every school organization, clinical facilities should be available to make possible specialized attention to all children who are showing behavior, personality, and pathological deviations. Visiting teachers, psychologists, psychiatrists, and physicians should be at hand, either through community adjustment bureaus, or school guidance departments, to make possible true preventive work with potential maladjustments. No problem child should be permitted to become a misfit and a costly social menace for lack of interest and effort on the part of those in whose hands rest some measure of power to prevent catastrophe.

In Public School 181, as part of the total preventive program, we have been developing personality inventories of all of our children. As weaknesses are discovered, effort is made to correct the condition as early as possible in the school career of the child. Periodically, an accounting is taken of all children in terms of individual problem situations—retardation, overage-ness, subject deficiency, specific physical defect or deficiency, behavior disturbance, personality disorder, and home difficulty. Teachers are urged to be on the alert for the appearance of what might be regarded as anticipatory conditions, which, unchecked and uncorrected, might lead to more serious future difficulty. Each case is studied and some form of adjustment is sought. Unless the problem is considered serious or acute, clinical analysis is not resorted to. The individual, sympathetic, mental-hygiene approach is insisted upon, but the attempt is made to reach explanation and solution in a direct, educational manner rather than in a highly analytic, clinical manner.

If, however, the personal, informal, descriptive technique proves ineffectual, a more intensive case analysis is resorted to in order to secure more adequate diagnosis and recommendation of remedial procedure. The school and community program is tied

up with this activity. At times, regrading or reclassification of the pupil is indicated; at other times, drastic modification of curriculum arrangement; occasionally a change of teacher or a modification of the child-teacher relationship. In numerous instances, physical defect or illness calls for medical attention or placement in a special class for the physically handicapped; in other cases, findings of mental deficiency signify need of placement in a class for children of low mentality. Now and then, analysis directs attention to a specific subject weakness or disability and calls for pedagogical diagnostic and remedial procedure to correct the condition. Again and again, home situations are found to be the provocative factor. Poverty, parental neglect, home conflicts, bad example, and an endless number of other circumstances occasion lines of action that bring the school into essential relationships with parents, relief agency, medical clinic, Children's Society, Domestic Relations Court, and other public and private agencies whose continuous cooperation we are trying to gain through our developing Coordinating Council. Now and then, an acute condition compels us to request the assistance of a psychiatric clinic or of the Guidance Bureau of the Board of Education.

The program that has been described is still in the experimental stage. No attempt has been made to evaluate the procedures scientifically. It is doubtful that this can be done. In a complex, changing situation like a New York City neighborhood, it is difficult to determine the effect of any one influence. Too many variables enter into the situation. No one of them can be isolated, as in a laboratory, to make possible measurement of specific cause-and-effect relationships.

New York local communities are not static institutions. School populations are extremely mobile, changing as much as 25 per cent and more in a year. During the past thirteen years, the pupil composition of Public School 181 has been modified completely in social, economic, and racial character. In 1922, the population of East Flatbush was thinly distributed, racially homogeneous, and economically comfortable. Most of the residents had lived in the community for many years, and owned their own homes. Shifts in neighboring populations resulting from large realty operations, brought about the influx into the school vicinity of hundreds of families of varying racial

composition on much lower economic and educational levels. Older residents moved out of the district. Today, from 15 to 20 per cent of the children of the school come from families on relief. Every social problem, including the delinquency situation, has become intensified as a result of the population shift.

Children's Court and police records of the past year, compared with those of previous years, signify very little as far as our program is concerned. The two reports relate to situations too different from one another to be comparable. Scholastic achievement is too intimately correlated with economic, cultural, and social backgrounds to offer a basis of judgment. Numerous instances of individual children who have been adjusted in the school may be cited, but this does not offer a satisfactory statistical criterion. Under any circumstances, the program is too extensive and the length of time during which it has been functioning too brief for final conclusions at this time.

In 1934, the New York City Principals' Association adopted resolutions based upon a two years' study by its Committee on Delinquency Prevention, endorsing the plan as set forth in this chapter, both in its underlying principles and its practical applications. These resolutions were addressed to the Board of Superintendents of the Department of Education, and urged further investigation and action by the educational authorities with reference to the problem of crime prevention. A committee of superintendents studied the program and returned a report upon the basis of which the board officially approved the "Peyser Plan of Character Building and Delinquency Prevention" (as the Principals' Association named it), and recommended it for study by assistant superintendents and principals of schools, and for adoption in other sections of the city with suitable modification to local needs.

## Chapter VII

### BUREAU OF SPECIAL SERVICE, JERSEY CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS

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The officials of the Jersey City public-school system and the local Police Department have long felt the need of some systematic effort to curb truancy and juvenile delinquency. The school authorities realized that the many habitual truants and young delinquents were costing the city many thousands of dollars not only by repetition of grades but through frequent institutionalization. They also realized the cost to society of the continued recidivism of young offenders.

And the local police officials<sup>1</sup> were well aware that the officers of the law were starting too late in the careers of delinquents to do an effective piece of work in crime prevention. In order to prepare themselves for participation in a preventive program, two superior officers were appointed to spend their entire time, over a period of months, in studying the inmates of the various state institutions to secure information regarding the character, training, offenses, and handling of the young people of the State of New Jersey who had finally been lost to society through the gradual development of antisocial thought and conduct.

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<sup>1</sup> Under the leadership of Chief of Police Thomas J. Wolfe.

In the early part of 1931 the Board of Education and the mayor, representing the municipal law-enforcement officers, held a joint meeting to discuss ways and means of bettering an already enviable record of freedom from crime.<sup>2</sup> The unanimous opinion of the group was that there existed very little authentic information regarding the amount, causes, nature, or proper treatment of juvenile delinquency. A great variety of opinions existed regarding the factors contributing to crime and possible solutions of the crime problem, depending upon the viewpoints and experiences of those consulted. Physical heredity, social heredity, native intelligence, emotional disturbances, glandular deficiencies, and a host of other factors, both in isolation and in a variety of combinations, have been emphasized as causative of delinquency by various workers in the field of criminology.

Owing to the inadequacy of existing factual materials about the prevention of juvenile delinquency there seemed to be only one way of approaching the problem intelligently; namely, by setting up an experimental program which would combine and coordinate all available public agencies in Jersey City for the study and treatment of all its maladjusted children. This combination into one unit of all public agencies known to be working with difficult children marked a very definite departure in the field of social work. Frankly acknowledging the paucity of information about the guidance of problem children, Jersey City has nevertheless assumed its public responsibility for applying such knowledge as exists about the treatment of "the child with the problem." The school system was considered the logical agency for coordinating such a program in Jersey City for the following reasons: first, the school is the only agency which deals with all juveniles; secondly, the school, of necessity, deals with all children during their formative years of development when a preventive program is of most direct value and when symptoms of maladjustment can best be observed and corrected; and finally, many of the necessary services are already in existence in the school system and need only a reorientation to increase

<sup>2</sup> While Jersey City has been very free from major crime according to records of the United States Department of Justice, still its public officials felt that they should get back of surface indications to establish a truly preventive program, so that constructive measures might be applied to a furtherance of the good work already accomplished.

their usefulness many fold. The Bureau of Special Service in the Jersey City public schools is the result.

The major principle involved in the new program is *prevention*; and the need for keeping young people away from the hardening influences of the police station, patrol wagons, court hearings, institutional experiences is paramount.

The basis of the new organization is that the various agencies which formerly handled juvenile offenders have either been assimilated by the Bureau (attendance officers, police, school psychologists, and medical officers) or else they have been affiliated with it indirectly (juvenile court, police courts, and correctional institutions) so that all cases are referred to this Bureau for study and recommendation before any action is taken. In brief, no police court or correctional institution will accept or consider a case involving a juvenile delinquent or maladjusted child until the Bureau of Special Service so requests. In preparation for the work, the mayor of Jersey City<sup>3</sup> issued orders that the Police Department, the courts, the city medical center, and the Board of Education were to combine in an exhaustive study of the causal factors of juvenile delinquency, possible remedial activities, and in carrying out a coordinated program of crime prevention.

Immediately after the organization plans for the new Bureau had been completed the mayor called together all the public-school officials, including classroom teachers, all superior officers of the police department, judges from the juvenile and police courts, heads of all public agencies who had up to that time dealt in any way with juvenile offenders, and reporters from the various local newspapers. Through the latter group the purpose of the meeting and the function of the new organization was conveyed to the public in detail.

Representatives from each of the assembled agencies discussed the need and function of a central coordinating agency which would deal with problem children sufficiently early to really prevent delinquency. Policies were outlined and adopted at this meeting for the cooperative functioning of all the above-mentioned groups, both city and county. The Bureau of Special Service was established under the supervision of the Board of Education on February 1, 1931.

<sup>3</sup> Frank Hague.

The Bureau, in charge of the Assistant Superintendent of Schools,<sup>4</sup> took under its wing the Attendance Department, which was already dealing with problems of truancy, and also the existing special classes for atypical children, added a group of seven visiting teachers who were to be held responsible for other forms of school maladjustment, a special detail of police officers consisting of a Captain of Police and five plain-clothes officers, and finally a clinic composed of a psychiatrist, a psychologist, the chief medical examiner, the supervising dentist, and a nurse. Special physical examinations of all kinds are made at the municipal medical center rather than at the Bureau, however.

The director of the Bureau, as has been indicated, has under his supervision the teachers of the special classes of the public-school system of New Jersey. These include twelve teachers for the crippled, one teacher for the blind, two teachers for sight-conservation classes, five teachers for the deaf, two teachers for lip reading, five teachers for speech correction, sixteen teachers for the sub-normal children, six teachers for defective pulmonary children, two teachers for cardiac classes, nine teachers for those academically maladjusted, and twenty-three prevocational teachers. He also has under his charge the recreational instructors. In this section are a supervisor, twenty-seven regular instructors, fifteen temporary instructors. They carry on their activities in eleven recreational centers in the school buildings between the months of September and May and in eighteen playgrounds on school property. (Blanket provision was made for the opening as recreational centers of any public schools or public playgrounds which might function as important agencies in the general preventive program.) In connection with the Bureau of Special Service are also three clerks who maintain a continuous census of the work of the Bureau.

One of the most helpful and encouraging by-products of the organization of the Bureau of Special Service has been the fact that the position of attendance officer has been placed on a level with that of the classroom teacher. At the present time all appointees to the Attendance Division of the Bureau must not only have academic training equal to that required by the state for teachers, but they must also pass a competitive examination

<sup>4</sup> Thomas W. Hopkins.

prescribed by the local Board of Examiners, and, further, they must prove their ability to do social case work by acting in the capacity of a substitute attendance officer for a period of fifty days previous to their admittance to the examination.

The actual additional cost of operation of the Bureau of Special Service has been relatively low due to the fact that the attendance officers, the members of the police unit, and the teachers of special classes were already employed by the city. Four of the six original visiting teachers were released for this work by a reorganization within the school system so that additional classroom instructors were not needed. Although the establishment of the recreational centers required additional instructors, they were selected from the vast army of unemployed college graduates who were most willing to accept positions at the rate of one dollar per hour on a part-time basis. The total cost of the Bureau has been borne by the city out of public funds provided by the Board of Education and the other municipal bodies which are directly connected with the Bureau.

By far the largest number of cases are handled in the Attendance Department of the Bureau. Some twenty-four hundred cases passed through its hands in 1934-1935. Truancy is of course the chief problem with which it is concerned. As truancy is a form of maladjustment, however, the distinction made by the Bureau between these cases and the ones handled by visiting teachers is undoubtedly an artificial one which we are planning to eliminate. The distinction now occurs because when this Bureau was organized it took over the existing group composed, as is the case in most school systems, of workers totally untrained in either case work or teaching. As the personnel of the group becomes qualified under the new standards for attendance officers indicated above, the distinction will disappear because all attendance officers will then be qualified case workers. Our present procedure in handling attendance cases is as follows:

1. At the beginning of each school session, all absentees are reported to the principal by the teachers on a blank provided for the purpose. The principal selects all cases where full information about the reason for absence is lacking or where, knowing the reason, he requires assistance in discovering the causal factors of the truancy and correcting them.



2. The attendance officer visits the home of each absentee. He reports to the principal the given reason for absence and when the child should be expected to return to school, and also furnishes a general description of the home conditions. Subsequent visits are made if the child fails to return at the expected time. If, on either the first or later visits, the attendance officer deems it necessary, he calls for assistance from other agencies such as the School Nursing Service, the Board of Health, and the Overseer of the Poor. A certificate from the attending physician is required in cases of illness lasting more than five days.

3. In serious cases, where no legal excuse for absence exists, the attendance officer is required to contact parents or others who may be able to assist in solving the problem. If this cannot be accomplished during his regular hours of duty, the attendance officer must call when the proper contacts can be made. Reports of such interviews are made, in these cases, both to the school principal and the Supervisor of the Attendance Department.

4. The Supervisor of the Attendance Department hears difficult cases every afternoon with the child, parent, and attendance officer present. In many cases, she makes a personal investigation of the home. This intimate contact increases her understanding of the cases and enables her to check on the attendance officer's comprehension of the problems involved.

5. The Assistant Superintendent of Schools, in charge of the Bureau of Special Service, hears cases in which the above mentioned procedures fail. At these hearings, all the records of the Attendance Department, plus the cumulative school record, are available. Where it seems indicated, the clinical facilities described elsewhere, are called upon for assistance in analyzing underlying difficulties.

When a diagnosis of causal factors has been made, the Assistant Superintendent of Schools in charge of the Bureau of Special Service, determines what adjustment can be made within the school system. Because of his position as Assistant Superintendent and the fact that he is in charge of all special classes, he is able to make desirable changes such as assignment to special classes, transfers to other schools and classes, and changes in the pupils' schedules of subjects. No case can be referred to the courts or committed to correctional institutions unless all

the above mentioned procedures have proved to be entirely inadequate and then only on the recommendation of the Assistant Superintendent of Schools in charge of the Bureau of Special Service.

All cases of physical, mental, emotional, or academic maladjustment within the schools, other than attendance cases, are referred by the principals and are automatically assigned to the Supervisor of visiting teachers who, in turn, assigns them to her assistants, or, in special cases, to the appropriate persons within the Bureau. Approximately five hundred such cases are referred annually.

In handling them the procedure is as follows:

1. Children showing definite signs of abnormal physical or mental conditions are reported to the Bureau of Special Service. There are special forms for such reports. Accompanying these reports is a complete statement of the school history as kept on the permanent record card of the school system, as well as the analytical statement of personality traits, recreational habits and interests, and any special indications of maladjustment.

2. These cases are then referred to the visiting teachers for complete investigation of home and school conditions, and a cumulative record of the weekly follow-up visits by the visiting teachers is kept.

3. All children are scheduled for complete clinical examination in the light of the information gained from school and home. Special attention is given to sensory defects due to the direct bearing which they may have in determining school success or failure together with subsequent emotional reactions.

4. Weekly conferences of visiting teachers, school officials, and clinical examiners are held for the discussion of these cases in an attempt to formulate a well-rounded judgment as to the proper way of handling each individual.

5. Arrangements are made for transferring children to the various special classes and schools.

In the case of delinquent children coming to the attention of the police the following practices have been developed in order to insure effective coordination with the program of the Bureau of Special Service. It is no longer possible for an individual police officer to take children to police stations or place them in a correctional institution pending action of the court:

1. Whenever a child is detected committing some offense of sufficient importance to demand police attention, he is escorted to his home by the officer, who secures his name, age, address, and school attended. The following day a complete report is made to the captain of the police detail assigned to the Bureau of Special Service giving the foregoing information together with the offense committed by the child. In cases in which the child is in need of immediate physical care he may be taken to the children's ward of the Jersey City Medical Center, from which he can be released only by the order of the Bureau of Special Service.

2. Parents are notified to present themselves at the office of the Bureau of Special Service, accompanied by the child, for a conference regarding the reported offense.

3. Complete statements are taken from parents and children regarding the family conditions, home life, and recreational habits of the child. They are given to understand that continuance of such offenses will lead to serious difficulty and are advised in regard to the regulation of the child's habits along constructive lines.

4. All of these children are given clinical examination if this seems advisable, and the parents are instructed concerning the necessary treatment.

5. Follow-up visits are made to the home and the school by plain-clothes officers, who secure information regarding the child's activities, home conditions, and the attitude of the parents, until such time as there is sufficient evidence that there is no further need for follow-up work.

6. In those cases where parents show the proper cooperation, and still the child continues to be delinquent, he is taken before the juvenile court with a complete statement of the case and the desirability of sending him to a correctional institution is decided by the judge. This has been necessary in less than 10 per cent of the cases which were formerly automatically referred to such a court.

During the past year a total of 1,554 cases were referred to the police unit of the Bureau of Special Service by the Police Department, citizens, or other agencies, for investigation, adjustment, and follow-up work. The follow-up work is done only with the serious cases or chronic offenders who are listed specifically for such treatment. Such lists are prepared at conferences held for

this purpose by the police captain, the plain-clothes officers, and the head of the Bureau.

The following cases illustrate not only the sources of referral of cases to the Bureau of Special Service but also the methods of handling these cases:

*Case I.* Joan W., an attractive girl of fifteen, was brought to the attention of the Bureau of Special Service by her mother. The mother spoke with the school disciplinarian and wanted advice as to how to handle Joan. It seems she stayed out late at night, smoked, played truant, and was uncontrollable. A subsequent investigation of home conditions revealed that Mr. W. had died two years before and the mother had a position as a house-to-house canvasser. This left Joan, the only child, alone the greater part of the day. She attended school in the morning. At night, Mrs. W. usually went out. Joan, rather than stay home alone, went with her crowd of boys and girls. Among her friends was a boy who had joined the Navy. She corresponded with him and to this her mother objected. Financial conditions in the W. family became very bad so it was necessary for them to move from their comfortable apartment into one furnished room. Mrs. W. had lost her position and was receiving aid from the city. Joan was anxious to help out so she decided to leave school—mother consenting. A position, that of housework, was obtained for her, but unfortunately she did not hold it very long. She lied to her employer, saying her mother was ill, and asked for time off to see her mother; instead she met her boy friend. She remained away from her employer's home for a week and the deception was discovered when Mrs. W. called to inquire about her daughter. Joan returned home of her own accord and Mrs. W. decided to send her back to school. This was arranged. Mrs. W. had obtained another position and this enabled her to move into three attic rooms. Joan, however, did not take kindly to her return to school and it was then the real truancy began. The day after she was readmitted, she failed to attend.

After several visits to the home the school investigator succeeded in speaking with Joan. She said she had been ill but did not tell her mother about it. She returned to school soon after the visit but immediately was absent again. On many of these days, she could not be found at home, although sometimes it was very stormy. When questioned about her absence Joan stated she had been ordered out of the house. She did not get along very well with her mother because she was going with a boy friend. One Sunday afternoon when Joan had arranged for a "date" with the boy friend the mother objected to her keeping it. Her mother became angry and, intending to scare Joan, told her that if she went out she was to stay out. Joan chose to go. When she came home

that evening the door was locked and she slept in a "little shed near the roof" of the apartment where they formerly had lived. The next day Mrs. W. came to the school authorities looking for Joan. She stated that she was in ignorance of the many absences but had heard of them later. Joan had borrowed money from the landlady who later told Mrs. W. about it.

At a conference, it was decided to find a placement for Joan outside her home. This attempt met with failure. Joan continued her truancy and when the investigator succeeded in finding her at home during one of these absences her story about being ill was repeated. A subsequent physical examination disclosed nothing to warrant these complaints. Mrs. W. complained bitterly of the girl's untidiness and late hours, saying she often came home from work to find things just as she left them in the morning. One day, after Joan had left the school without permission, her mother was immediately notified. The investigator went to the home the next day and it was then that Joan, after much persuasion, confided the reasons for her not getting along with her mother. It developed that Mrs. W. went out repeatedly, night after night, and very often brought home a man who shared one bed with Joan and her mother. It was about this that mother and daughter quarreled. When mother was interviewed she stated that during the quarrels the girl used vile language to her and defied her. Joan was sent for by the school authorities and when questioned about her truancy related the story she had told to the investigator. She mentioned the man's name and a police check-up disclosed further information about him. An appointment was then made for the mother to be interviewed. Mrs. W. came and, in view of the later developments, it was agreed to take the case into court to decide what could be done with the girl. Meanwhile, Joan was removed from her home and detained at the city hospital until the court disposed of the case. Mrs. W. engaged a lawyer for her own defense.

When the case came up in court Mrs. W. was ordered to send the girl to her maternal relatives in California. She promised to get a railroad pass, which she did. The school authorities obtained some clothing for Joan and she was personally conducted to the train and seen safely on her way to California.

*Case II.* Benjamin was referred to the juvenile court by his mother. She requested the judge to put him away as soon as possible. The court, in turn, communicated with the Bureau of Special Service, who assigned the case to the Supervisor of Visiting Teachers for investigation. Physical and psychological examinations were a matter of routine and psychiatric examination was requested due to the emotionally unstable condition which the boy exhibited.

Mother stated Benjamin did not get along in school because of disturbances in the home. Said he had inherited his father's stubborn

"Scotch" disposition, was willing to obey strangers but not his mother. Had previously been examined by a psychologist and psychiatrist in another city and at that time removal from home had been advised. Father was a Scotchman, very devout, but very stubborn, and with many peculiar traits. Left home at an early age to work as a seaman. Believed children should be allowed to grow up by themselves and do as they pleased without having interference from the parents.

Mother was a Russian Jewess, who had come to this country at fifteen years of age. Although she had no schooling in Russia she was able to speak, read, and write English well. Has written and had published a pamphlet on the evils of intermarriage. Also wrote some poetry and has completed a play. Claims a group of socialists wanted to buy the play but she refused to sell it to them. Married boy's father after knowing him only one week. Has been separated from him for a year already because she did not want the children to live in an atmosphere of constant quarreling. Whenever possible, husband contributed toward the support of the family. Was not doing so at time of referral, claiming that he was unable to obtain employment. Never came to the home. Wrote to the oldest daughter, who used to meet him at a designated spot. Family was receiving a food order for three dollars a week from the Overseer of the Poor. Mother made aprons, caps, and potholders which she sold from door to door.

Rachel, seventeen, the oldest daughter, was unable to secure work except for a day now and then. She was a graduate of a business college of good standing. Mother considers her a fine Jewish girl. Rachel seems very much in awe of her mother. Did not disagree when her mother said disparaging things about father's family, but when mother was not present she said the family was not as ignorant as the mother had made them seem. There were two teachers and a minister in the father's family. Saul, six, was considered by the mother to be a 100 per cent American. He seemed to be her favorite child. A son, Jacob, died at the age of three. Would have been twelve years of age if he were living. Mother wrote a poem bemoaning his death.

Examination by the staff psychologist showed Benjamin to be a boy of very superior intelligence. The medical examination showed evidence of chorea, and arrangements were made for medical treatment. Psychiatric treatments were begun but discontinued by the mother because she disagreed with the psychiatrist when he told her Benjamin was capable of doing his own thinking. Rachel was also interviewed but she became angry at the psychiatrist because he had suggested the possibility of treatment for the mother. Benjamin had been found by the psychiatrist to be very keen and a quick thinker. Resented mother's domination. Psychiatrist felt that the constant quarrels were due to the fact that the mother had a feeling of guilt because she

married someone not of her religion in her attempt to find the security of a home.

During every call of a visiting teacher to the home, mother had complaints to make about Benjamin. The usual one was that Benjamin refused to do immediately what she ordered him to do. The mother constantly discussed his misbehavior and his faults before him. Would not give him an opportunity to tell his side of the story. She became hysterical if he attempted to do so. Benjamin, when interviewed alone, said that if his mother did not insist upon supervising his every move and if he could feel less angry when she did, the quarrels would decrease. The family at this time lived in a very poor neighborhood and Benjamin did not have any friends. Mother always insisted that Benjamin would not turn out well; that he would grow up to be a "bum," like his father.

In time it was possible to change the mother's attitude toward Benjamin. The mother began to have a little confidence in his judgment and ability; began to think that perhaps he would "amount to something." Family then moved to a better neighborhood where Benjamin readily made friends with the boys living there. He joined the Y.M.C.A. where he became a leader in his group. His school work improved. Eventually he became an honor student, in keeping with his high degree of native ability.

*Case III.* Mary E., a nine-year-old girl, was referred to the Bureau of Special Service by the principal of the school which she attended, because of retardation and peculiar personality. A visiting teacher was assigned to the case. Mary was small for her age, pale, anemic looking, had blonde hair, blue eyes, a slight case of strabismus, wore glasses. She was chatty and friendly and seemed anxious to please. Physical examination showed her to be a trifle underweight. On a Binet test she was found to be three months retarded and to have a special reading disability. The latter fact was reported to the girl's teacher with specific directions as to the necessary remedial treatment.

Mary's home environment had been very poor. She had lived in five different homes and at time of investigation was living with her father and eleven-year-old brother at the home of Mrs. T., who was a friend of her father's. The family history showed the paternal side to be upright and respectable, but on the maternal side there was a record of shiftlessness, irresponsibility, and immorality. Mary's father was a good-natured man, exceptionally tall and well proportioned. He left school early. Was a truck driver but due to a leg injury caused by a fall off his truck he was not working and was receiving compensation. Married Mary's mother when he was twenty-two years old, not because he loved her but because he "got her into trouble so acted the part of a gentleman and married her." He and his wife separated eight

years ago because of Mrs. E's uncleanness, neglect of the children, and her immorality.

Mrs. E. is an actress connected with a burlesque troupe. She was then working in a night club. After the separation, she took the children. Mr. E. soon found them all living in a furnished room with a strange man. Mrs. E. then moved to a different city where Mr. E. again found her and the children living with another man. Mr. E. then placed the youngsters with his mother who cared for them until she became ill. Their next home was with a nurse for a few months and then the father placed them with an elderly woman, a Mrs. W., who had only a monetary interest in them. She took them to see their mother perform in a burlesque show for which Mrs. E. paid her.

The children lived with Mrs. W. for seven years. Mary said that it was during this time that she learned about sexual relations from a boy about her own age who lived in the same house. When Mr. E. lost his position he could no longer pay Mrs. W. to care for the children so took them to live with him at Mrs. T's home. When he and Mrs. T. discovered that Mary masturbated they became very much upset. Mrs. T. reported that Mary's actions were repulsive to her. Mary also took small sums of money, rouge, and powder. She never admitted taking anything until she was cornered. Mrs. T. used to get her to admit taking things by telling her that God would tell Mrs. T. whether Mary had taken them. Mrs. T. and Mary's father saw no good in the child. Said that she was just like her mother and even told Mary that. Mary's mother came occasionally to see the children and Mary was fond of her. Said that she wanted to be an actress like her mother.

Mary, her father, and Mrs. T. were referred to a psychiatrist who found that the father was trying too hard to make up quickly for his previous neglect in his fear that the girl would turn out badly like her mother. In this opinion he was very much influenced by Mrs. T. The psychiatrist found Mary very fearful. She readily admitted various fears and showed signs of reacting to them very strongly. She was afraid that she was unalterably bad and that her father would leave her again. Father was very much interested and relieved to learn that Mary had nothing of importance wrong with her except that she was so badly scared most of the time and that she was unable to think straight, and that fear accounted for her misbehavior to a great extent.

Through the cooperation of the father and Mrs. T. with the psychiatrist and visiting teacher, Mary has overcome her bad habits. She is getting along well in school, has been promoted twice, and is now a happy, healthy, eleven-year-old girl. She was recently referred to a "big sister," an outstanding woman in the community, who is attempting at the present time to prove to Mary that she really is worth while and that she "does belong" in the eyes of worth-while members of society.



*Case IV.* John S., a pleasant-appearing Portuguese boy, thirteen years of age, was referred to the police unit of the Bureau of Special Service by a precinct detective for breaking, entering, and larceny. In company with five other boys he had broken into a sporting-goods shop and stolen several pairs of roller skates. Subsequently he and "his gang" were reported on several occasions for disorderly conduct, such as attempting to beat their way into a moving-picture house, hitching on the rear of trolley cars and buses, loitering around the main business section late at night, and finally for holding up and robbing a younger boy.

Investigation by the Bureau of Special Service detective in charge of the district in which the boy lived, showed that he was the third youngest of ten children, that there was no control in the home owing to disagreement among the members of the family. The father, who had only recently been taken out of a hospital for mental diseases, invariably defended this boy regardless of his misbehavior. The school record showed the boy to be a good student but very defiant of school authority whenever he was crossed in any way. Psychological examination showed him to be a perfectly normal boy, "very meek, polite, and cooperative, with ability to do much better school work." Psychiatric examination was arranged and subsequent treatment was given over a period of seventeen months. Throughout this time the boy showed a great deal of concern for fear he might have inherited his father's mental affliction. During this latter period John's family was visited weekly by the detective assigned to the case; the boy was enrolled in a recreational center located in one of the public schools near his; he was committed to the local detention home for a period of one week after his last-mentioned offense and was released from this institution in charge of a "big brother" from one of the local service clubs.

It is difficult to estimate the influence brought to bear upon him by each of the above-mentioned agencies, but he has not been reported by the police for any delinquency for a period of a year and a half. He not only seems to have become interested in worth-while leisure-time activities but has also been instrumental in directing the activities of "his gang" along the same lines. Evidence of this is plainly shown in the fact that no complaints against juveniles have been received from his neighborhood over a long period of time. School adjustment in this boy's case was very difficult, since he had a very definite aversion to high school. However, this was overcome by an irregular transfer to vocational school where John seems to be making satisfactory adjustment to school routine and work.

It becomes evident from these case stories, that the Bureau of Special Service carries on its work in cooperation with private

agencies in the city and county. The relation of the Bureau to existing private agencies has been very carefully considered throughout the period since its establishment. The question as to the need for the establishment of some formal agency like a city-wide council to coordinate all activities relating to children with behavior difficulties has been constantly kept in mind. The organization of a unit such as the Los Angeles Coordinating Council,\* for example, has been thoroughly discussed and indefinitely postponed. The main purpose of such an organization seems to be the inauguration of a coordinated community program for crime prevention and the furtherance of the public consciousness of the need for crime-prevention work in order to bring about desired reforms through forcing the hand of those responsible for the existence of unfavorable conditions. Since the present public officials of Jersey City had already regulated conditions pertaining to adult crime and since they were responsible for the establishment and promotion of the program for the prevention of juvenile delinquency, it did not seem necessary to provide any external governing body to insure the success of a well-rounded child-welfare program. The hearty cooperation of all existing private agencies has always been solicited and has always been secured. The various ways in which this cooperation has manifested itself are outlined below:

1. The Jersey City chapter of the American Red Cross has maintained a central index through which practically all local agencies have cleared their cases. The Bureau takes advantage of this service and in this way determines whether a case which it is handling is already known to some other agency.

2. Every case handled by the Bureau of Special Service which has required or could be benefited by reference to the organized church agencies has been referred to the proper authorities such as the Catholic Charities, the Church Mission of Help, the Jewish Home for Orphans and Aged, the Salvation Army, the Home for the Homeless, and so on. There has never been any hesitation or lack of enthusiasm on the part of a given agency to cooperate to the fullest possible extent.

3. Cases in which the difficulty has seemed to be a lack of companionship or proper recreational opportunity have been

\* See Chapter II on Los Angeles Coordinating Council Plan.—EDITORS' NOTE.

turned over to the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Y.M.H.A., the Jersey City Boys' Club, the Boy Scouts, or similar private agencies adapted to provide the essential guidance or experiences which were lacking. In many instances employment and lodging have been provided through some of these agencies. Excellent opportunity for financial aid and also for additional case study have always been afforded by a local council known as Organized Aid.

4. The Bureau of Special Service has always been willing to work with any of these agencies on a given case or to assume full responsibility for any cases which seemed to need special care not already available in an established organization.

5. Hundreds of special physical, psychological, and psychiatric examinations have been given by the Bureau to cases handled by these organizations. During the past year the entire group in the Jewish Orphanage was given complete psychological examinations.

6. The Bureau of Special Service has assisted the service clubs and fraternal organizations in carrying out their child-welfare programs in a variety of ways. Personnel, transportation, and financial assistance have been extended to them whenever they have requested assistance. Assistance in studying the social problems of Jersey City from various angles was given to the Junior Service League during the past few months.

7. The majority, if not all of the case workers connected with the Bureau of Special Service, are members of the County Social Workers' Club. In this organization they find opportunity to exchange ideas, to serve on committees interested in the general welfare, and to keep in touch at all times with the progress and plans of other agencies.

8. The assistance given by the Bureau of Special Service has not been confined to the limits of its own facilities but has extended to the utilization of other public agencies with which the Bureau has had very close working agreement. In many cases hospital care, special physical examinations, and remedial treatment have been provided through the special children's wards at the Jersey City Medical Center.

9. The Board of Education has extended the use of its school auditoriums and gymnasiums to any responsible privately organized group which has requested their use. They have further furnished classrooms and teachers for afternoon or evening

instruction to any clubs or organizations requesting it. Through this policy they are striving to make every schoolhouse a community center for adults as well as children.

Thus it may be seen that a reasonable, adequate working relationship between the public and private groups of social workers has been established without formally organizing a steering committee or community council. The training and enthusiasm of the personnel in the related groups is the fundamental key to success in any attempt to utilize all the existing community agencies toward a common end.

What has the Bureau accomplished thus far? As uniform records have been kept in the Bureau of Special Service since its inception and are comparable with the records previously kept by the Attendance Department, it is possible to determine the change in the proportion of truancy cases and of cases taken into court or committed to correctional institutions, before and after the organization of the Bureau of Special Service.

Basing the figures on the five-year period immediately preceding the establishment of the Bureau of Special Service, but eliminating the transition year 1930-1931, during which the coordinated agency functioned for only half of the school year, and averaging the last four years during which time the Bureau has been in complete operation, the following comparisons were drawn:

1. Cases taken into court decreased from an annual average of 744 to 97 a year.
2. Commitments to correctional institutions decreased from an annual average of 251 to 34 a year.
3. Truancy decreased from an annual average of 3,042 to 2,485.

There might be some question as to the validity of these statistics but in so far as it has been possible for us to keep comparable records, the above are statistically sound. Because of lack of uniformity in the local police records it is as yet not possible to make any more detailed statement than the above regarding the effectiveness of the work of the Bureau of Special Service. The record system is being built up, however, so that in the future it will be possible to evaluate the results of Jersey City's effort to coordinate its public agencies for the prevention of juvenile delinquency. An index is maintained at

the Bureau of every child who has been reported as maladjusted, whether physically, mentally, emotionally, or economically.

The Bureau of Special Service has really proven its worth and the various organizations concerned have grown to feel that it has provided a wholesome and valuable coordinating unit among the municipal educational and social agencies. They have very willingly identified themselves with its promotion and extension. Such clubs as the Kiwanis Club, the Lions Club, the Woman's Club, and the Junior Service League have not only taken leadership in encouraging the work but have provided between fifty and sixty volunteer big brothers and big sisters to whom cases may be referred for counsel, encouragement, and friendly guidance by the Bureau. The success which these public-spirited citizens have had in counseling children is due largely to the fact that they have been able to convince their charges that they are really worth while in the eyes of outstanding business and social leaders. In other words they have contributed a most essential something in making immature individuals feel that they really "do belong."

Parents as well as private agencies have developed a consciousness of the work of the present organization to the extent that not only are children of school age referred for study and supervision but also preschool children and overage children who have severed their connection with the schools.

But the greatest value achieved by the Bureau of Special Service lies in its emphasis upon the early recognition of delinquency, and in the coordination of all the means for child study *before* a youngster has traveled so far on a criminal career as to reach a police station, a court, or a probation department.

The importance of the latter point has been clearly stated by Professor Thomas D. Eliot of Northwestern University in his article entitled "Suppressed Premises Underlying the Glueck Controversy."<sup>5</sup> He says:

For both administrative and social-psychological reasons the valuable case-work functions now called probation could probably be carried on more effectively under public welfare auspices rather than under direct court control. Many such cases might thus be routed through to proper treatment without the conflict and stigma inevitably involved in court procedure.

<sup>5</sup> *Journal of Criminal Law*, Vol. XXVI, May, 1935, pp. 22-23.

## Chapter VIII

### THE VISITING TEACHER IN THE CINCINNATI PUBLIC SCHOOLS

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Education plays an important part in the prevention of delinquency and crime by giving children the experience of a happy and successful school life. An interest in work suited to their abilities and needs, the habit of achievement, the recognition of limitations, pleasure in group activities produce individuals who are usually able to make a good adjustment to life.

The visiting-teacher movement grew from recognition by both the home and the school of the strategic position held by education in the prevention of maladjustment. As the visiting teacher works with parents and teachers to help the child meet and overcome academic and emotional difficulties, she helps him develop the strength to make a suitable adjustment to his problems. When he leaves school where he has had vital experiences—experiences of happiness and success, he is better able to assume a satisfactory position in life. Participating in the educational program, the visiting teacher contributes to the prevention of delinquency by directing her special efforts toward the adjustment of children's problems at their inception.

The origin of the Visiting Teacher Division of the Cincinnati Public Schools lies far back in the history of the Vocation Bureau of the school system. In 1911 a group of Cincinnati's socially minded citizens interested in the welfare of working children instituted an investigation which developed into a five-year

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study of the mental, physical, and social conditions of these children. This study under the direction of Helen Thompson Woolley resulted in an organization which was the beginning of the Vocation Bureau.

As the study progressed, the need felt for a knowledge of the home conditions of the children was met by the appointment of a home visitor who was the forerunner of the present staff of visiting teachers. In the volume devoted to the results of this five-year investigation, "An Experimental Study of Children,"<sup>1</sup> Dr. Woolley says:

In addition to the psychological laboratory the school needs a means of making social diagnoses, such as are contributed by the modern visiting teacher. Next to the mental level of the child, home atmosphere and ideals have been shown to be the most potent factors in determining school progress. The modern educator must regard all of the factors that further or retard the progress of children in school as relevant to his task. In so far as it is possible, the school must feel responsible not only for diagnosing mental and physical traits in the child but also for understanding his social background and for doing what can be done to better it.

At present the school is very lacking in a technique for relating its problems to the home. Theoretically the school is an adjunct to the home, created for the purpose of assisting parents in their task of bringing up children, and yet only too often the education of the home and that of the school are conducted quite independently of one another. Something of the technique of social case work, as developed by the social worker, must be taken over by the school in its investigation of the extra-schoolroom conditions which are interfering with school progress. The visiting teacher is the pioneer who is blazing the trail in method, but her lead must draw after it a host of followers before the general need is met.

After the organization of the Vocation Bureau, social workers were added to its staff from time to time until the Board of Education in 1925 authorized the formation of the Individual Adjustment Department which was to be composed of visiting teachers. With the appointment of the first visiting teacher in 1926, the Individual Adjustment Department grew slowly until it numbered twelve visiting teachers in 1930. In September, 1929, a director was appointed; in November, 1929, a change of name

<sup>1</sup> HELEN THOMPSON WOOLLEY, "An Experimental Study of Children," The Macmillan Company, New York, 1926.

from Individual Adjustment Department to Visiting Teacher Division was authorized by the Superintendent of Schools and the Board of Education.

At the present time, the Visiting Teacher Division consists of ten members, nine visiting teachers and a director. Six visiting teachers give full time and two visiting teachers part time to regular service in twenty-two schools having a total school population of 15,320. In addition four schools, subsidiaries of schools listed among the twenty-two, with a school population of 1,467, have the opportunity of regular consultation service. One visiting teacher devotes full time and two visiting teachers part time to the "at-large service."<sup>2</sup> The duties of the director include the administrative work of the division, and case-work supervision.

The Visiting Teacher Division is one of the pupil personnel services which make up the Vocation Bureau at the present time. The other divisions are: The Child Accounting Division consisting of Attendance Department, Census, and Work Certificate Office; The Psychological Laboratory; and The Division of Occupational Research and Vocational Counseling. An additional service represented by the work of The Scholarship Committee, which is financed by the Community Chest, relates its work closely to that of the Vocation Bureau. While each division of the bureau is in immediate charge of a director who is a specialist in his field, the work of all the divisions is coordinated under the supervision of the Director of the Vocation Bureau who is directly responsible to the Superintendent of Schools. All divisions of the Bureau are financed by the Board of Education.

Together with the other divisions of the Vocation Bureau, the Visiting Teacher Division has its headquarters in the superintendent's office at the Board of Education Building. Individual visiting teachers, however, have offices in the schools to which they are assigned where they hold office hours for the convenience of the teachers and the children. The visiting teacher is looked upon as a member of the faculty of those schools in which she works. She so identifies herself with the life of the school and yet emphasizes her special function that she is recognized by the children and parents as a member of the school staff

<sup>2</sup> This is explained on page 136.



whose services are at their disposal for consultation about their problems.

The work in Cincinnati follows for the most part the accepted principle of assignment of the visiting teachers to designated schools for regular service, most of the visiting teachers serving three schools each. For the purpose of demonstrating the value of intensive work, the Visiting Teacher Division has maintained for six years a center where one visiting teacher devotes full time to one school of 1,190 population. A small proportion of the work of the division is given over to the visiting teacher at-large service which was organized in order to give assistance to a few of the most urgent cases in the schools to which regular visiting teachers have not yet been assigned.

Because the visiting teacher job is a preventive one, because mental hygiene has taught us that the child's personality is largely determined by the experiences of his early years, the major emphasis in the assignment of visiting teachers is placed upon elementary schools. That the visiting teacher has a service to render the secondary school, however, is recognized in the assignment of visiting teachers to one of the junior high schools and to a junior-senior high school. It is evident that there is need for careful study and careful follow-up of the many serious problems discovered by teachers, student advisors, and vocational counselors in the secondary schools. In most instances, however, the problems had their inception long before, and educational systems today feel a responsibility for the early detection of instabilities and dissatisfactions so that they may be more successfully treated. Since problems of school children of all groups are very much the same, since poor training, poor habit formation, scholarship maladjustment and failure are found among children of families of all economic levels, the services of the visiting teacher are available to schools in all sections of the city.

To her work with school children the visiting teacher brings an equipment of training and experience in the fields both of education and of social case work. It is felt that it is important for the visiting teacher to have sufficient background in education to enable her to work intelligently with the classroom teacher on technical educational problems. Her methods of work are those of the case worker trained also in the field of mental hygiene.

For the last six years the minimum requirements for appointment to the Cincinnati visiting-teacher staff have been: the bachelor's degree with the training in education required of classroom teachers in the Cincinnati schools; one year's experience in teaching; one year's graduate training in a recognized school of social work; one year's experience in a recognized case-working agency under supervision. The requirement of certification by the Cincinnati school system which in turn demands certification by the State Department of Education gives the visiting teachers the status of classroom teachers both as to length of the school year and as to the salary schedule.

Visiting-teacher work is the study of individual school children who give evidence of lack of success in some of their life relationships. They may give evidence of lack of academic success; they may present serious behavior problems to an understanding and solution of which both the parents and teachers find themselves unequal; they may show obvious personality deviations such as excessive shyness, sensitiveness, secretiveness, lack of self-confidence, undue aggressiveness, or constant attitudes of resentment or suspicion; they may present the problems of the negative or the withdrawing child or the daydreamer; it may be that they give evidence of environmental conditions which are handicapping them.

These children are brought to the visiting teacher's attention by the principal or through the principal, by the teacher, psychological examiner, school nurse, attendance officer, vocational counselor, or other school official. Sometimes it is the parent or a friend, sometimes the child himself who asks for the visiting teacher's help. Social agencies or other community organizations may also request the visiting teacher's interest in certain children.

The school provides an ideal place for the natural study of children. Behavior in the classroom and on the playground, reactions to classmates and to teachers, are a measure of the child's happiness and maturity. The visiting teacher, whom the child knows as a member of the staff, becomes acquainted with him easily and informally. In her office in an atmosphere of freedom and ease, he may state his problem as he sees it. Together they work out a plan. Already the visiting teacher has been helped to a greater understanding of the child by the school's

accumulated knowledge of him. With the child's approval, she meets his family, and thenceforth a more unified approach to the study of his problem is made possible by those interested in him. Intensive case-work treatment is the procedure followed by the visiting teacher, the emphasis of treatment varying in different cases—sometimes it is with the child, sometimes with the home, again with the school.

The following case stories are presented to illustrate types of problems with which the visiting teacher works and her methods of treatment.

*Case I.* At the age of six years, Helen was considered a "problem child" both by the school and by her family. The work done with her indicates the possibilities of preventive treatment.

Although Helen was an able child, as is shown by the fact that her mental age was two years in advance of her chronological age, she had not made a beginning in reading after six months in the first grade. She was so constantly bidding for the attention of everyone with whom she came into contact that she was greatly disliked. The children called her, "The Pest."

Helen's early childhood had been spent in the home of an aunt after her father's death. Here several doting adults so showered her with attention that she was not able to develop a perspective as to her place in the scheme of things. When her mother remarried and took Helen to live with her, the child was completely unable to adjust herself to a household where normal living relationships existed. Trying to carry on in the manner in which she had been trained, she was a most irritating child. At the same time she herself was unhappy as she floundered helplessly in an attempt to reestablish her little world around her.

Just at this time Helen entered school. She tried her best to reproduce the satisfying experiences of her former life by demanding the teacher's attention and by trying to excel all the other children. But here she found that she must share her teacher with thirty-five children, that she was pushed aside by classmates who did not like her, and that she could not do as good school work as they. Her behavior both at home and at school was her mistaken attempt to regain her former security.

The visiting teacher was asked to try to relieve the strain placed upon the class and teacher by Helen's presence. As the visiting teacher came to know the various factors in the situation, she was in a position to see more clearly than the others the causes of the trouble. She discussed with the mother and stepfather the emotional disturbance which Helen experienced by the abrupt change in home life. They then tried to make this change more gradual, to work along with her as she learned

a new sense of values, and to give her the security of their love. Because they became discouraged and irritated by the slowness of the treatment, it was necessary for the visiting teacher to see them regularly in order to point out the progress that was being made.

Likewise the visiting teacher interpreted the child to her teacher. A classroom program was arranged which taught Helen how to work and play with children and how to gain approval legitimately. Although both principal and teacher understood why Helen behaved as she did, she so tried their patience that they questioned whether they should give to this one child the time necessary to work out her problem. The visiting teacher worked through these situations with them, explaining the drives back of Helen's behavior, indicating the gains, and helping the teacher see a challenge in continued work.

With eyestrain relieved by glasses and with her emotional conflicts resolved, Helen was able to devote herself to her reading. She began to show gain, but it required a long period of special attention with remedial methods before she read normally. The visiting teacher continued her work with Helen until the child left Cincinnati at the end of the second grade. A year later Helen reentered the same school in the fourth grade. The teacher reported that she was doing average work and was not outstanding in the group. The principal who had had to give Helen so much time formerly was unaware that she was in the building.

In this case the visiting teacher worked mainly with the adults who figured in the child's life. She was able to see the situation more objectively than those immediately concerned, to interpret the child's behavior to them, and to show them their role both in the origin of the problem and in its treatment.

*Case II.* Jack Smith came to Jefferson School as a seriously unadjusted adolescent boy, whose former school had considered him such a difficult problem that it had refused to keep him. Although he had superior mental ability, he was a complete academic failure and a behavior problem. His former teachers had suspected a mental disturbance and against the wishes of both boy and parents had sent him to the psychiatric ward of the city hospital for observation. This experience among psychotic patients had upset and antagonized the boy. Although the psychiatrist could find no actual mental disorder, he felt that further study was indicated and referred him to the Visiting Teacher Division for follow-up.

The teachers at the new school found that the peculiarities persisted—Jack slept continually in classes, seldom did any work, showed no interest, and was habitually absent and tardy without cause. He resented correction and defied authority. His mood was always sullen and antagonistic, and with both children and teachers he had a "chip on the

shoulder" attitude. He did not associate with young people and was always a disturber in his large family because he was quarrelsome, irritable, and self-willed.

Two years of intensive study and treatment were necessary before Jack ceased to be a constant source of irritation to the teachers and a disturbing influence in the classroom. Many interviews were needed to gain Jack's confidence and many more interviews followed in which the boy had an opportunity to pour out the jumble of his conflicting emotions and reactions while the visiting teacher tried to sort them out and make them fit together into an explanation of his conduct and attitude. Further psychiatric study, to which Jack consented only after he had been helped to some insight into his own problems and to a desire to overcome them, revealed that he was a prepsychotic child who would need careful guidance to avoid mental breakdown in later life. It was felt that this condition could be traced to a feeling of inferiority due to his relatively small stature; to poor physical condition, caused by constipation, rectal abscess and bad tonsils; to unpleasant experiences in the former school, where he had been accused unjustly of theft; and to a fear that people might believe that he had negro blood because of his dark complexion and curly hair.

The visiting teacher feels that the teachers' increased understanding and sympathy, made possible through the visiting teacher's intensive study, constituted one of the most helpful factors in the treatment of Jack. Some teachers had thought Jack "crazy" and some had thought him "bull-headed," but those who had the necessary patience eventually won him over. After the psychiatrist's study, Jack's physical condition was improved through treatment. The boy's mental attitude toward his own health was made more normal as psychiatrist and visiting teacher helped him face his problem and removed his fears one by one. Through many interviews, the visiting teacher worked with Jack to help him become self-confident and to feel that he was being accepted as any other white boy in his group. Gradually Jack began to show an interest in school; his sluggishness and sleepiness disappeared in most classes when he faced the fact that this was his method of running away from something he did not like. During the second year, Jack gained enough self-confidence to develop his two hobbies, drawing and swimming, and recognition won in both lines helped to encourage him. Finally, he consented to join the "Y," where he would find his needed social contacts and opportunities to continue his hobbies. The parents were also helped to an understanding of Jack's problem, as a result of which there was improvement in his home relationships.

During the following summer, Jack carried out his plan of joining the "Y," becoming an assistant in the recreational activities, and discharging his responsibilities seriously. Since he was eighteen years old when

school opened the next fall, the visiting teacher did not urge his return, but let him carry out his own plan of working during the day and of attending night school in order to complete his education. In the last interview which the visiting teacher had with him, he was happy and laughing and was looking forward to a year's activities which he had planned himself, activities well balanced with work, play, and education. He was able to discuss his past difficulties without undue emotion, and sometimes even with humor.

*Case III.* In order to understand the problems presented in the case of Jeannette, one must go back as far as her early childhood. Her father died when she was less than a year old. Her mother, who had had to go into business, placed two older brothers with an aunt who refused to take Jeannette. Finding that the small child interfered with her business and social activities, her mother sent Jeannette to a boarding school at the age of five years. Added to the experience of being unwanted in her own home, was a very unsatisfactory school experience. By the age of nine, she had been dismissed from five boarding schools. Six public schools which she has since attended have reported her as non-conforming. At the age of eleven she began to show an unusual interest in sex which disturbed both her family and the school. At this time the visiting teacher attempted to help the mother and the child, but her efforts were rendered ineffective by the mother's continued resistance to Jeannette and by Jeannette's resulting feeling of insecurity. When Jeannette was thirteen she was seen by a psychiatrist. Although he helped her with her questions of sex, she refused to return to him for treatment.

At the age of fifteen Jeannette was in the seventh grade doing failing work in spite of normal mental ability. When the school insisted that she meet ordinary requirements or when the teachers tried to talk to her, she sat with sullen indifference, untouched by their efforts to help her. She indicated intense feeling against her mother and paid no attention to her mother's instructions unless forced to do so. When she was allowed to go out in the evening, she remained out until the early hours of the morning. She went with many different boys and was reported to behave in a questionable manner with them. She herself said that she drank. She smoked continually. When on parties, she told vulgar stories to get the attention of the crowd. She was not popular but craved popularity. She defied school, home, and conventions with a sullen, hard front which was impenetrable.

During this time, Jeannette was more or less friendly with the visiting teacher. At the time that her behavior presented the most acute problem, when she would let no one else approach her, she would at least talk to the visiting teacher. At first the visiting teacher spoke to her only casually in the halls or on the street because she felt that

Jeannette was holding off from her friendship. On several occasions, she invited Jeannette with other girls to her home. Thereafter when they met, Jeannette began to talk to the visiting teacher about her boy friends, her pleasures, her dislike of school, her resentment against her mother, and her plans, confiding that she intended to run away from home at Christmas time. The visiting teacher made few comments. Gradually she began to see Jeannette regularly at school for extended interviews, attempting to help the girl recognize her own difficulties and the futility of fighting society, home, and school. During these interviews, Jeannette came to say that she was not happy, that she would really like to finish school and become a nurse, that she realized that the friends she wanted did not find her attractive, that she was not nearly as "fast" as she pretended, that she did many things just to shock people and to attract attention.

During the latter part of the year in the seventh grade, there was some improvement noted in Jeannette's behavior and in her school work, although the latter was far from creditable. Reports from friends indicated that she was more quiet on parties. She failed the grade, but on her own initiative attended summer school. Viewed as a whole, her year in the eighth grade was without instances when she was outstanding in the group as to behavior or school work. During the first half of this year, Jeannette and the visiting teacher continued their regular interviews. Jeannette showed a greater maturity in her interests and accepted responsibilities given her by her teachers. She was in greater harmony with her mother, who began to show a real appreciation of the girl. As Jeannette became less of a burden, her mother was more able to accept her.

In attempting to judge the degree of Jeannette's adjustment, the visiting teacher considers it probable that she will never be as good a student as her mental ability would warrant—she is not interested in academic achievement. Her interest in boys may result in some minor difficulties at school. Her mother will still be unwisely critical of her at times, but at other times will attempt to talk to her with real understanding. It seems probable, however, that Jeannette will manage her life fairly well, finding enjoyment in forms of self-expression which will not be in opposition to the interests of her group and which may even make some contribution to the group.

*Case IV.* The visiting teacher had known Robert when he was in the fifth grade where he was a serious behavior problem. At that time he had already developed the habit of taking things, both at school and in the community. His home was an unhappy one as his father drank and his mother's management of their affairs was not a strong one. Robert was fond of his mother, however, and took her part when there were difficulties. When his behavior became so troublesome that his place-

ment in a parental school was considered, his family sent him to a private school. During the next two years the visiting teacher heard of him continually as a problem in the community because of his stealing, fighting, and running away from home. These activities brought him to the attention of the Juvenile Court.

When the private school refused to keep him a third year, he returned to the public schools in the eighth grade. He resisted school rules, showed an undercurrent of resentment in class, kept the class upset by his remarks, and was in open conflict with the teacher and principal. The school considered referring the case to the superintendent's office for advice as to what should be done with the boy.

The visiting teacher was then asked to see what she could do to help Robert. Out of the regular talks which the two had together emerged the following facts: he felt that his family and relatives expected no good of him; older and bigger boys dominated him, making him do their planned mischief, then letting him take the punishment; he resented his small stature; he had a constant fear of being considered a "sissy"; he had an unusual attachment for his mother; he had a strong feeling against his father and was inclined to assume some of his father's family responsibilities. In his unhappiness he was blindly fighting everyone. He was trying to "get even," as he expressed it.

During the first interviews with the visiting teacher, Robert did not look at her but sat partly turned away. When the visiting teacher made no comments during his tirades, he gradually turned around in his chair until he faced her. As the interviews progressed, he gained release from his pent-up feelings and had no fear of saying what he actually thought and felt. Here was no attempt to make him conform, no punishment for his angry comments. He told his mother that the visiting teacher could listen and was impartial; she did not criticize him or force him to admit his faults.

As time went on, the visiting teacher felt that Robert was trying to accept the routine of school and to keep out of trouble in the neighborhood, but he did not succeed entirely. While the visiting teacher was helping Robert work out his problems, she saw his mother about once a week, interpreting to her the boy's feeling for her and pointing out his need for experiences apart from her and the home.

With his mother's approval, the visiting teacher gave Robert's name to the Big Brothers' Association. He was assigned as a Big Brother an attorney who has done a remarkable job. He accepted Robert just as he was; with him the boy felt that he had status. He helped Robert make arrangements for joining the Boy Scouts and helped him meet the problems he found there. This big-brother relationship provided Robert a means of freeing himself from his undue attachment to his mother.



Through Robert's participation with the visiting teacher in the solution of his problem and through the understanding given him by the school, the home, and the Big Brother, the boy was brought to such control of his problem that he passed the eighth grade with a satisfactory record and is now in high school where his adjustment is good. The neighborhood troubles have ceased.

Although the chief responsibility of the visiting teacher is intensive study of individual children, she also works less intensively with a large number of children the solution to whose problems can be found in short-time service. Perhaps the difficulty is in such an early stage of development that a slight service will adjust it. Perhaps the visiting teacher can give the child and family all the help they seek in a short-time contact, or can initiate a plan of treatment which they can carry out alone. Such a service is illustrated by the case of a child who was failing in arithmetic because of his immaturity and his attitudes of irresponsibility. The visiting teacher had three interviews with the mother in which she gave her a greater understanding of the problems, helped her see her own responsibility in the development of the boy's attitudes, and advised with her on plans to change them. Two interviews at school were held with the boy to help him realize the reasons for his failure and to secure his active participation in plans for changing his attitudes and helping him grow up. Several interviews were held with two teachers—in the case of one, to communicate to her the mother's concern and to solicit her cooperation; in the case of the other, to stimulate an interest in the boy and to develop a more sympathetic understanding of the boy and the mother. The arithmetic teacher, when her interest was aroused, gave the boy more attention. The mother and the boy have been able to carry out with no further help from the visiting teacher the plans begun in these few contacts.

Many visiting teachers have been successful in organizing school clubs which help solve the problems of individual children and, at the same time, reach a larger group. For example, Dick was a disturbing element in his fifth-grade room. He interrupted classroom activities in various ways in order to get the attention of the teacher and the class. He seemed to feel that rules of the school were imposed upon him. One day the visiting teacher suggested to him that the boys of his room might form a club.

The idea appealed to Dick and he began to think of things this club could do for the school. Later with the backing of the principal and the teacher, such a club was formed with meetings once a week. The members adopted their own code of rules and tried to check their behavior by the rules. One month when most of the pupils in the room received low marks in conduct as well as in many other subjects, the president of the club with several other boys discussed the situation with the visiting teacher and decided that they were going to talk to the boys at club meeting. They did so, and a most decided change was noticed the next month. This club became so interested in baseball that they organized a team. When the visiting teacher asked the director of physical education at the "Y" to talk to the boys, he suggested that they might help him form a baseball league for the summer. The visiting teacher and the boys were able to line up six teams for the league, composed of boys from two or three schools. The Y.M.C.A. then took responsibility for the league, inviting it to meet at the "Y" during the summer. The club continued to meet as a sixth-grade group the following year. It developed a feeling of responsibility to the school for its behavior in the schoolroom and on the playground. Previously some member of this class had been in the principal's office every day taking the time of the principal and teacher and interfering with the progress of the whole class.

One member of the Cincinnati visiting-teacher staff has developed a program of boys' and girls' recess clubs which accommodate large groups of children and provide opportunities for mental-hygiene talks, storytelling, dramatics, and other activities which promote social growth.

Another visiting teacher has done an interesting piece of work in giving a series of talks on "Growing Up" to a fourth-grade class. First the general idea of growing up physically, mentally, and socially was presented. Later discussion was planned around such topics as: methods of gaining attention, responsibility for school work and behavior, dependability, getting along with other children, and ways of meeting difficult tasks including discussion of the significance of telling the truth, running away from situations, and saying, "I don't care." The opinions of the classroom teacher and of two mothers corroborated the visiting teacher's observation as she has worked since with individual

members of the group that they were able to make definite application of the discussion to the management of their affairs.

As the Cincinnati Visiting Teacher Division looks back over its ten years of existence, it notes several interesting changes that have come about in the conduct of its work and in the attitudes of the school toward problem children.

Increasingly is there a tendency on the part of the school to refer cases for preventive rather than emergency treatment. Formerly older and more difficult children were considered the proper cases for visiting-teacher study. Now there is a greater sensitiveness to the significance of earlier behavior symptoms which results in a noticeable trend to refer younger children whose problems are not yet at an acute stage. Referrals from earlier grades are, therefore, increasing and at the same time the type of problem is changing as the referrals tend to swing away from the more pronounced to the more subtle behavior maladjustments.

A related change in point of view is noted in the growing recognition that the visiting teacher is needed in schools of the better residential sections as much as in schools of the poorer areas. Each year sees a growth in the requests for service to these schools, due to the fact that not only the principals and teachers, but also the parents, feel the need for help as they become more understanding of children's problems.

A change in the attitude of many teachers toward problem children has been noted in recent years. They are less irritated by the child who is troublesome, because they have a greater understanding of the conditions which underlie his behavior. Less often do they want to eliminate the child from the group; more often do they want to help work out his problem. This desire to participate with the visiting teacher in the treatment program being worked out for the child, rather than to turn over the problem entirely to the visiting teacher, is increasingly evident. This trend corresponds to the growing recognition on the part of the visiting teacher that the teacher should take an active part in the work with the child—sometimes an even more active part than the visiting teacher herself.

Formerly many good teachers were loath to request aid of the visiting teacher because they felt that such a request indicated failure or lack of skill on their part. Now the teacher is inclined

to feel that he must be alert to the varying problems of school children and be quick to realize when a particular child's behavior indicates a need which is beyond his ability to meet. He feels that he is failing to fulfill his responsibility if he does not secure for the child that help which may solve his problem.

With the changes in attitude toward behavior and toward problem children, a certain stigma which may have been attached to the relationship with the visiting teacher in the past is disappearing. The visiting teacher's field of work is widening to include the group of normal children who may have personality problems, as the parents and teachers understand the importance of treating behavior in its early stages.

In reviewing the development of visiting-teacher work in Cincinnati, certain trends are apparent which pertain largely to the visiting teacher's methods of work. These trends coincide with those in the general case-work field, but their development in visiting-teacher work would not be possible without a somewhat comparable change in the thinking of school people. That the schools are acquiescing in the visiting teacher's tendency to swing from environmental adjustment to therapy where such treatment is indicated, and to make a less authoritative approach to the parent than the school has traditionally made, is indicative of a greatly changed attitude.

A significant development in the visiting-teacher job is the increasing demand for consultation service by principals, teachers, and parents. In several schools, the principals make use of the visiting teacher's special training and experience in discussions of school policies, personality problems of teachers, and social problems of their communities. Because the visiting teacher sees the inadequacies of the school system reflected in individual children, she is in a position to make suggestions for changes which will meet the children's needs more fully.

Teachers are more and more consulting with the visiting teacher about the treatment of children whose problems they prefer to handle themselves or must handle because the visiting teacher is unable to undertake the work. This consultation service is illustrated by the manner in which one visiting teacher met partially the demands which a teacher made upon her. Of five or six children whom the teacher had referred, the visiting teacher was able to undertake intensive work with only two.

She met the teacher for luncheon conferences several times a month, however, for the purpose of outlining work with the other children, responsibility for whose treatment the teacher was carrying alone. At these conferences the teacher reported on the present status, and together the teacher and visiting teacher planned for future work until such time as they could meet again. The teacher carried the work with both parents and children. She has grown greatly in her ability to treat all classroom problems because of her experience of success in handling these cases. She has gained confidence in herself and has developed an objectivity which enables her to discuss her relationship to the problems of her pupils, to recognize her abilities and her limitations, and to accept help when she needs it.

Another instance of the help which this consultation service may give a teacher is provided by the following situation: in the case of a child who had very little self-control as the result of encephalitis, the teacher consulted the visiting teacher frequently. She specified that she did not want the visiting teacher to do or say anything, but just to listen. She *had* to talk to someone who understood this child's type of behavior and the effect it had upon the other children and upon her. She discussed her feelings toward the boy and toward his behavior. There were times when she felt she could not have him in her room another day. She always knew that the visiting teacher would attempt to work out some plan, including other school placement, whenever she made the request. But she did not make it, gaining enough relief and courage from these periodic consultations to go on.

Because of the relationship established between the teacher and the visiting teacher in their joint work with children, teachers frequently consult the visiting teacher about their own personal problems. In several instances the visiting teacher has been able to help the teacher work through his problems or to direct him to another source of help.

In some schools there is evident a tendency on the part of parents to seek out the visiting teacher for conferences at school much as they would consult representatives of other professions. These parents want professional advice, but they wish to determine the circumstances under which it is given; they wish to have the responsibility for working out the situation themselves,

returning to the visiting teacher only when they feel the need of further help. The schools have felt that this consultation service was of great value to them in meeting the needs of this group of parents.

The Visiting Teacher Division seeks an integration of its work with the whole public-school program, working with the superintendent's office, the directors, and other school officials in relating its work to the comprehensive educational program. The Visiting Teacher Division works closely with the other divisions of the Vocation Bureau, all of which are knit together in a relationship which brings about a sympathetic understanding of each other's functions. They cooperate to provide for children the advantages of their different services and to insure a unity of effort in their approach to the study of the child's problem. The visiting teacher feels a direct responsibility to the principal and teachers of the buildings to which she is regularly assigned. She keeps always in mind the importance of active participation by the teacher in the visiting teacher's case study of the child, as only through the classroom teacher can all children be helped to a sound mental hygiene of life. The visiting teacher, therefore, not only wishes the teacher to benefit from the visiting teacher's study of individual children, but is ready to give advisory service on other children. Several visiting teachers have met with small groups of student teachers to have general discussion of children's behavior and to hold case discussions of individual children.

The Visiting Teacher Division seeks an integration of its work not only with the whole public-school program, but with the community. Community relationships are considered an important part of the visiting teacher's job. The visiting teacher is interested in affiliating herself with community organizations. She takes an active part in the Parent-Teacher Association and in mothers' clubs. Two of the visiting teachers have done interesting pieces of work in initiating the organization of mothers' groups. Because the visiting teacher is looked upon as a somewhat disinterested person not so closely tied up with school policies as are the teacher and principal, the parents often feel more free to express themselves critically, thus giving the visiting teacher a chance to iron out misunderstandings.

The Visiting Teacher Division works with the social agencies of

the city to bring the benefits of their services to school children. She cooperates with recreational and character-building agencies in the development of their programs in the schools. Her relationships with the child-guidance services of the city are close. The Juvenile Court recognizes the preventive aspect of visiting-teacher work, feels that the study and treatment of the behavior troubles of younger children are properly the responsibility of the public schools, and sometimes requests that the visiting teacher handle the cases of younger children who have been referred to the Court. In turn, the visiting teacher sometimes turns over the more acute problems of older children to the probation officer or cooperates with him on the case.

The visiting teachers have always considered it an important part of their job to interpret the two fields of education and social work to each other. Social workers tend to look upon the visiting teacher as the representative of the school, and likewise the school regards her as a representative of the social-work profession who can bring to it a greater understanding of the functioning of the social agencies. The visiting teacher participates in the activities of both the educational and social-work groups of the city.

During the school year, 1934-1935, the Visiting Teacher Division carried 830 major-study cases. Of this number 480 cases were continued from the preceding year, 288 were new cases, and 62 were reopened from previous years. Of the number of cases carried at any one time, there are many that are less active than others. In some instances, the cases are held open for observation; in others the relationship between child and visiting teacher continues even after the major adjustments have been made. In addition to the major-study cases, the division carried 987 minor or short-service cases during the year.

In analyzing the distribution of cases in schools and grades for the school year 1934-1935, it is interesting to note that the greatest number of referrals from the elementary schools came from the third grade. Referrals fell away on both sides of this grade. The reasons for referral in order of importance were: behavior, personality, scholarship, and situations within the home. Ninety-three and one-half per cent of the cases were referred by the schools; the remainder, by family, friends, the child himself, social agencies, or other individuals and organizations. Of those referred by the schools, the largest number, 45.7 per cent origi-

nated with teachers, the next largest number, 37.2 per cent, with principals. As has been the case over a period of several years, the number of boys studied was approximately twice that of girls, the boys numbering 550, the girls, 280.

The question of evaluating the effectiveness of the visiting-teacher service is a difficult one as is any program of dealing with individuals and their personality growth. The Visiting Teacher Division has attempted in its monthly and annual reports to analyze the success of its treatment. When a case is closed, the visiting teachers look back over their work and make a sincere attempt to gauge the measure of its success. The division recognizes, however, that such analyses are valuable chiefly to the visiting teachers themselves in the review of their work which it affords. The division hopes that it may be possible sometime to assign one of its staff members to follow-up study of a group of children known to it during an earlier period.

The division seeks to be alert to the newer trends in the fields of progressive education, social case work, and mental hygiene so that it may adapt its procedures to the developments in those fields. In order to check its work with that done elsewhere, the division keeps in close touch with other visiting-teacher centers throughout the country, and its members work actively with the American Association of Visiting Teachers.

Of interest in an attempt to measure accomplishments, is the experience of the visiting teacher who has worked for six years in one school. She has a wide acquaintanceship in the district with families whose older children she knew in the earlier years. As the younger children enter school, she has observed that the parents are more alert in the recognition of problems and take the initiative in seeking help, although their former experience with the visiting teacher may not have enabled them to prevent the development of the problems with the younger children or to handle them after they have developed. Those teachers who were formerly irritated at the presence in their rooms of problem children and were annoyed at having to work with the visiting teacher, now seek the visiting teacher for discussion of the behavior of their children and are glad to cooperate actively in plans for treatment.

Each year the division is able to gain an idea of the extent to which its work is considered valuable by the schools through



questionnaires which the superintendent sends to principals. The principals are asked to comment on the various pupil personnel services as to the value of the work and as to the schools' future needs. Although all schools do not express a feeling of need for visiting-teacher service, there is an increase each year both in the emphasis on the helpfulness of the work and in the number of requests for service. The division is unable to fulfill the growing demands. Urgent requests for continued work have been made to the superintendent and the Board of Education by principals at times when visiting-teacher service has had to be discontinued in their schools.

During the past two years two surveys have been conducted in Cincinnati, one a survey of the Cincinnati Public Schools made by the United States Office of Education and the second a study of Children's Aid and Child Care in Cincinnati and Hamilton County made by the Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor. Both surveys were carried on in cooperation with The Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research. The reports of both studies issued in 1935 approve the work of the Visiting Teacher Division and recommend its extension throughout the school system. The educational survey suggests that the Psychological Laboratory and Visiting Teacher Division be combined with the addition of psychiatric service into a child-guidance unit.

Since no follow-up study has been possible and since the statistics and observations of the visiting teachers have limited value as a measure of the long-time success of their work, the Visiting Teacher Division presents as a more objective evaluation the comments of a few persons in the community who have looked at its program from the outside for a number of years.

A public-school principal who has served his district for many years has followed with interest the successes and failures of many of his former pupils. He states that three of his students have had careers of crime and a fourth is now a vagabond. The teachers recognized the needs of these boys when they were in school but were unable to work out a solution to their problems because of lack of time and skill. The principal pointed out that within the last four years he has seen the visiting teacher work with the same kind of children apparently, from the same kind of homes, and with the same type of behavior. He has noted the improve-

ment in attitude and achievement as well as the general change in behavior. He feels that if only one boy can be saved from a criminal career each year, the visiting-teacher service is paying from a financial standpoint and is yielding much larger social returns.

Dr. E. A. North, Director of the Cincinnati Central Clinic, has expressed the opinion that the work of the Visiting Teacher Division together with the other divisions of the Vocation Bureau is one of the most constructive things being done with the young people of the city and plays a very definite part in the prevention of delinquency in Cincinnati.

Charles W. Hoffman, Judge of the Cincinnati Juvenile Court, believes that much misconduct is stopped in its incipiency through the work of the visiting teacher. Although the Juvenile Court is unable to give any figures, Judge Hoffman feels that the number of children prevented from appearing in court as a result of the work done with them in the schools is significant. He considers that the work of the Visiting Teacher Division and kindred departments in the Cincinnati public-school system has demonstrated that both in the prevention and cure of delinquency, the public schools have a strategic position.

The majority of children with whom the visiting teacher works are not, and perhaps never will be, delinquent. The way in which the visiting teacher contributes to the prevention of delinquency is to promote in all children a better adjustment—habits of achievement, the ability to face difficulties, the skill to get along with others, the freedom to engage in suitable self-expression. To provide constructive treatment for all children rather than special programs for the delinquent is the trend of education and of social work today.

## Chapter IX

### THE DIAGNOSIS AND TREATMENT OF MALADJUSTED CHILDREN IN THE DETROIT PUBLIC SCHOOLS

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The schools deal with individuals in their early years when important attitudes, ideals and skills are being acquired and developed. Since criminal careers tend to begin early, it is reasonable to assume that there should be a fairly close relationship between problems of crime prevention and education.

Public education in Detroit subscribes to the general aims of universal education that children shall be happy and successfully adjusted both in and out of school. Most of the Detroit public-school activities described in this chapter are designed primarily to make better provision for various types of maladjusted children. Undoubtedly, these procedures and provisions contribute more or less directly to the prevention of crime, although they are not labeled and designated for that purpose.

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EDITORS' NOTE.

The work of the Psychological Clinic of the Detroit public schools, of the Department of Special Education, of the County Training School to which high-grade mental defectives can be referred, and of the Department of Attendance—all of them concerned in part at least with the adjustment of children with behavior difficulties—will be emphasized in this chapter.

In the early elementary grades of the Detroit public schools all children are given a general examination for vision, hearing, nourishment, nose and throat, orthopedic defects, height and weight. This preliminary examination is made by the teachers. Any unusual conditions are then referred to the school nurse provided by the Board of Health who, in turn, refers the more difficult cases to the examining physician provided by the Board of Health. The nurses make almost daily, and the doctors weekly, visits to all schools.

The Psychological Clinic conducts group psychological examinations on all children in the first grade, which serve as a partial basis of classification into various instructional groups. A second group mental examination is given in the sixth grade, in the eighth or ninth, depending upon the type of elementary school, and to all graduating twelfth graders. In addition, all unclassified new enrolled children in all grades are given group tests sometime during each semester.

The Department of Research makes available a complete set of educational tests in reading, arithmetic, and all the other school subjects. These are not limited to the traditional topics but are provided for special subjects such as the manual arts, music, and others. By the administration of these tests the teachers are able to discover the specific disabilities and difficulties of children in their classes. The supervisory and administrative staffs in all departments of instruction have also prepared special courses of study in all the subjects of instruction. These have been cooperative projects with teachers in many instances and provide an education which is close to the needs of the pupils.

Upon the basis of the psychological tests, educational tests, and teachers' judgments, a three-track plan of education is being gradually developed. The best upper fifth constitute the X group with enriched courses of study. The Y group has about 50 to 60 per cent of the average children. The Z group includes a lower 20 per cent but does not extend down into the children

presenting unusual mental problems, who constitute the lower 2 per cent for whom special classes are provided. In the slow groups minimum courses with special methods adapted to the children have eliminated much of the failure and disappointment which is otherwise characteristic when children attempt to meet a standard that is too difficult.

This scheme of classification is designed to have flexibility and to give all children the chance to proceed at their own rate with material suited to their abilities, and teaching methods adapted to them. In smaller schools any teacher tends to have all three types of groups within the class at the same time, which makes the problem of instruction somewhat difficult; but in larger schools the groups are more completely segregated. In the junior-high schools such segregation is much more possible on account of large classes.

Through the various means sketched the Detroit public schools are making certain general provisions for individual differences among all pupils. The Department of Special Education,<sup>1</sup> for example, deals with problems of instruction for all types of handicapped children. These divisions include classes for the totally blind and partially sighted, the totally deaf and partially hearing, crippled children, those with various types of lowered vitality, including cardiac cases ranging from mild cases of malnourishment to chronic tubercular cases enrolled in special schools in connection with hospitals and sanitariums, epileptics, speech defectives, the mentally subnormal of special mental disability, and those presenting problems of behavior and delinquency. At the present time there are approximately 16,000 children enrolled in all these types of classes, which represents about 5 per cent of the total school population. Four hundred and fifty teachers are employed in the various divisions. The largest division is that of speech correction, with approximately 7,000 pupils and 45 teachers. Since these children are enrolled in regular grades and report to the speech teachers only at certain periods each week, they should not be counted as complete enrollments under the division of Special Education.

Many of these types of special classes were among the first to be organized in any public-school system in the United States. The first class for mentally subnormal children was established

<sup>1</sup> Under the directorship of Miss Alice Metzner.

in Detroit in 1903. The Department of Speech Correction established its first class in 1910. The first sight-saving classes were provided about 1915. Either a supervisor or principal is in charge of each activity, all under the Director of Special Education.

The Department of Special Education has primary responsibility for the instruction, equipment, teacher training, and personnel. There is close cooperation with other departments in the examination and admission of children to such classes. The Board of Health provides examining physicians for children who are candidates for any type of classes for the physically handicapped. In the schools for crippled children there is a continuous program of physiotherapy conducted efficiently and harmoniously by the Board of Health and the Board of Education. Candidates for classes for the mentally handicapped are examined and recommended by the Psychological Clinic whose program is to be described in a later section. There is also a cooperative arrangement for the examination and placement of children with behavior problems in suitable special schools or classes.

All of these classes and special schools are designed to make the most possible of the education of these children. They cannot meet the competition in regular grades, and if allowed to remain are potential failures. Failure then leads to discouragement and opens the way to antisocial and delinquent trends. Little further need be said as to the constructive values of these classes. Special techniques and procedures of instruction are provided and the health or the special ability and disability of these children rather than the standard set for normal average children, are the points of departure in their education.

Further consideration will now be given to the special behavior schools dealing with problems of behavior and delinquency. Detroit, at the present time, has a central school for boys with behavior problems (the Moore School), in which there is an enrollment of slightly more than 300. In addition, there are seven outlying classes—two of them for boys above twelve years of age, and five for boys from nine to twelve years of age—in which the enrollments are limited to about twenty-five. In these outlying classes one teacher is primarily in charge of the curriculum but many opportunities are offered to the pupils to partici-

pate in the general program of the school, such as the gymnasium, auditorium, music, and other special activities. The Moore School for Boys is similar to the Thomas Edison School in Cleveland and the Montefiore School in Chicago as to program and special features.\* The Moore School has a regular departmentalized and diversified program similar to that of a regular elementary or junior high school. There are 13 teachers, 6 of whom have academic rooms. There are 3 shop instructors; namely, metal shop, wood shop, and print shop. The science teacher, the health education or gymnasium teacher, the part-time librarian, and adjustment-room teacher complete the staff. A visiting teacher is attached to the whole ungraded department who does both intensive case work and the court work for the Moore School as well as the outlying classes.

In adjusting a boy to the school setup, careful analysis is made of his interests, achievement, and abilities. This is done in the adjustment-room class. After adequate tests have been given the boy is assigned to the section from which we feel he will benefit most. That is, if his interests are definitely mechanical, he is given an opportunity to spend from one and one-half to two hours a day in the metal shop. The achievement level of the group ranges from the first grade through the tenth. The pupils are not primarily designated as belonging to the fourth grade or fifth grade, but rather work at those levels. Promotion is made from section to section rather than by school grades. This arrangement seems to be very satisfactory to the pupils themselves and tends effectively to answer the argument advanced in regular education that it is difficult to make such a change in the policy of school administration. For those whose interests are chiefly academic, provisions are made for making up their work and for progress at their own rates. Instruction is almost entirely individualized. Along with the academic work the programs are balanced with physical education, general science, and some motor activities as afforded in the various shops. Under this type of organization and with teachers who are well versed in the nature of these problems, the educational program of the Moore School proceeds in an orderly and quiet manner very similar to that of any other type of regular school. Since all pupils have been studied and examined and the instruc-

\* See Chapter XI on Montefiore Special School.—EDITORS' NOTE.

tion suited to their needs and interests, they find a happy and wholesome atmosphere for their education.

We find that approximately 40 per cent of the boys adjust to the Moore School organization shortly after entering. Approximately the same percentage adjust after a short period of training, leaving from 10 to 20 per cent who evidently have such serious maladjustments that the school is unable to cope with them adequately in a brief time. Many of these children have had such chronic long-time maladjustments in regular schools and in their homes that no immediate change can be effected or expected. Further mention will be made under the clinic program of the general psychological and other characteristics of these children.

Character education, as such, is not of the direct type. The teaching staff attempts to instil desirable motives for correct behavior through both vicarious and actual examples and experiences. It has been found that the boys respond to a large degree of self-direction. For example, a student council operates successfully when the boys realize that it is their responsibility and that the success of the organization depends, in large part, on their cooperation.

Approximately 25 per cent of the boys in the Moore School are on probation to the Juvenile Court or have some type of contact with it. There is a very close cooperation between the staff of the Moore School and the probation officers as well as the Judge of the Juvenile Court. The principal of the Moore School<sup>2</sup> very frequently appears at the court hearings and his recommendations are given careful and serious consideration in the Court's decisions. The visiting teacher performs a similar service for children from the outlying special behavior classes. A large majority of the boys reaching the Juvenile Court were already in contact with it at the time of their transfer from the regular schools to the Moore School. Only a small number become new initial cases after having been enrolled in the Moore School. The chief charges against these boys are concerned with larceny, breaking and entering, shoplifting, and willful disobedience.

The compulsory school law requires these children to attend until they are sixteen years of age. Many of them remain until seventeen. In general, they are encouraged to stay longer since

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Henry Obel.



it is hoped that their chances of becoming delinquents will be greatly lessened if they are carried over these later adolescent years under the supervision of the school. Approximately 20 per cent of the boys in the Moore School are returned to regular grades after a period of one or more semesters. Of those who are returned many again seek to reenter the Moore School feeling that they can make a better adjustment there than in the regular grades. Since the program of the Moore School is a comprehensive one, it is felt that boys can profitably complete their school career without being returned to the regular grades.

The outlying classes serve a large number of schools in the average or better residential areas. At the present time the central school draws chiefly from the poorer residential and industrial areas of the city, with approximately 65 per cent of colored children. Italian, Polish, and Southern whites are next in order. Since this program seems to be successful when larger numbers of children are brought together, providing for a diversified curriculum, it is planned to open one or more additional schools in other areas of the city along the lines of the Moore School.

One of the most outstanding contributions to the prevention of delinquency in and about Detroit was the establishment of the Wayne County Training School in 1927. This school serves Wayne County, in which Detroit is located, and handles an approximate enrollment of 700 pupils of school age who are high-grade mental defectives with delinquent tendencies and in need of social supervision. The Wayne County Training School cares for about 400 Detroit pupils at any given time and affords a great avenue of relief to parents as well as to special classes. The children are committed through the Probate Court as high-grade feeble-minded. Many of them are selected in a preliminary manner by the teachers of special classes for subnormal children in Detroit and by workers from social agencies who have found them difficult to handle or living in potentially undesirable environments.

The Wayne County Training School is unique in that it is the only school of its kind in the country. It is located at Northville, Michigan, about twenty miles from Detroit, and is supported by the county.<sup>3</sup> Candidates for this school in the

<sup>3</sup> Under the direction of Dr. Robert Haskell, Superintendent.

Detroit public schools are reviewed in the preliminary manner through our Psychological Clinic. An interview is arranged with the representative of the Wayne County Training School. If a tentative approval for admission is recommended, the legal steps are then executed. Very few children with an intelligence quotient of 60 or less are considered as candidates, but many with intelligence quotients of 70 or slightly above are considered to be desirable and trainable candidates.

The lower types of the feeble-minded are committed to the State Institution for the Feeble-minded at Lapeer, Michigan. The great majority of those reaching the upper adolescent ages are returned to the community under a plan of supervision and follow-up and the residue from the Wayne County Training School who seem incapable of such adjustment are then transferred for permanent placement to the State Institution at Lapeer. The Wayne County Training School offers a very fine method of caring for certain potentially unadjusted individuals in Detroit and vicinity.

The Psychological Clinic of the Detroit public schools, through whose hands all the maladjusted children pass at one time or another, was established in 1911. Some of its functions have already been described. At the present time the staff of the clinic consists of 26 professional workers and a staff of 7 clerks and stenographers—1 director, 3 part-time medical examiners, 5 group and vocational examiners, 1 diagnostician for educational disability, 4 social workers, and 12 psychological examiners. All of the professional staff have at least the A.B. degree or its equivalent, and 60 per cent of them also hold the Master's degree. Several are working on advanced credits toward a Doctor's degree. All the members of this staff, except the medical examiners, hold life certificates in Michigan and enjoy the rights and privileges of regular contract teachers of the Detroit public schools, including the benefits of the retirement fund. All of them have had experience in teaching, many in various types of special classes. This close contact with teaching tends to bring about a fine cooperation and a practical working relationship with the principals and teachers in the schools.

While the division of duties indicated above is followed in the main, there is a general assignment of duties overlapping each other among the various divisions. For example, the men

designated as group and vocational examiners also conduct a certain number of individual tests and write the case histories and complete whatever social work is necessary. All those designated as individual examiners also complete much of the social work in connection with their cases. Further details of their work will be mentioned under later sections.

In addition to the staff mentioned above, school clerks are assigned for Saturday work to the clinic. A group of National Youth Administration workers are also assigned for various types of special projects. Approximately 150 regular teachers who have had courses in mental testing are relieved by the Wayne University two or three days in the year to administer group psychological tests to first-grade children. By these various additions the regular program of the clinic is supplemented.

All children examined individually by the Psychological Clinic for the entire period have records on file at the Psychological Clinic. A specific method of diagnosis of behavior difficulties has been devised, known as the Detroit Scale of Behavior Factors.<sup>4</sup> Approximately 61,000 cases are on record. These records contain all requests for examination by schools, case histories, reports of psychological tests, reports to schools, and notations of contacts with physicians and other agencies. Within the past few years all cases for individual examination and study have been registered with the central Registration Bureau of the City of Detroit and a close cooperation has been maintained in the exchange of reports. These psychological records are continually being consulted by other agencies and frequently the story as presented by the child himself to the clinic worker in the schools furnishes important evidence supplementary to that given by the adults in the family to other agencies involved in a case, such as the Department of Public Welfare. At present many cases of the second generation of maladjusted children are coming into the records.

As long ago as 1924 the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor consulted the files of our Psychological Clinic for a vocational follow-up of mentally defective children. This survey was participated in by several other cities and a total

<sup>4</sup> For full description see HARRY J. BAKER and VIRGINIA TRAPHAGEN, "The Diagnosis and Treatment of Behavior Problem Children," New York, The Macmillan Company, 1935.

of approximately 2,000 children was studied from the point of view of their vocational history subsequent to schooling. Four hundred of these cases were found through the Detroit clinic from about twice that number who were in the records. Pupils who had left the special classes in 1919, at 16 years of age, were the subject of study.

It is evident to the writer that such an accumulation of records here and elsewhere when treated in a collective statistical manner is certain to yield valuable data as to social conditions, processes and trends which cause delinquency.

Five group examiners who also spend part-time on vocational examining, and the regular teachers mentioned above, conduct group psychological examinations. All children entering the first grade are examined for general classification. A second examination is given in the lower sixth grade and others completed at the end of the eighth grade in elementary schools and the ninth grade in intermediate schools (junior high schools). All graduating twelfth graders are also examined. All children who are new entries in the Detroit public schools in various other grades are examined, as well as overage and problem children. A visit is made to all schools every semester.

Various Detroit group intelligence tests are used in this program.<sup>5</sup> Results of group intelligence tests are expressed in terms of letter ratings according to the following table and by chronological age:

Group	Rating	Per cent	Approximate I.Q.
Bright (X).....	A	8	118 or higher
	B	12	111 to 117
Average (Y).....	C+	18	105 to 110
	C	24	96 to 104
	C-	18	90 to 95
Slow (Z).....	D	12	83 to 89
	E	8	82 or lower

<sup>5</sup> HARRY J. BAKER and H. J. KAUFMAN, "Detroit Kindergarten Test," ANNA M. ENGEL, "Detroit Beginning First-Grade Intelligence Test," HARRY J. BAKER, "Detroit Advanced First-Grade Intelligence Test," The World Book Company, Yonkers, N. Y.

"Detroit Primary Intelligence Test"; "Detroit Alpha Intelligence Test"; "Detroit Advanced Intelligence Test," Public School Publishing Company, Bloomington, Ill

The letter rating really becomes a brightness ratio or I.Q. These tests give considerable information on the mental status of each child. They also serve as a partial basis for the general classification of children into ability groups or teaching sections. The need of adapting instruction to these various types of pupils was presented by the director and will be mentioned in a later section.<sup>6</sup>

At the junior- and senior-high-school levels considerable work is done with testing for vocational aptitudes. The Detroit Mechanical Aptitudes Tests<sup>7</sup> are used in conjunction with the various group intelligence tests noted above. The Detroit Test of Manual Ability<sup>8</sup> is also given as well as a questionnaire on various types of personal data. In some instances the Bernreuter Personality Test and the Strong Interests Questionnaire are also given.

All candidates for certain types of vocational schools, particularly the Wilbur Wright Cooperative High School, are examined in this manner. Many other problem children are given at least the group mental test and the group mechanical test in the intermediate and high schools, and these results serve as a basis of consultation and interview by the individual examiners. A profile sheet of detailed results is made for each of these cases as per the sample shown in the table on page 165. This type of report gives an interesting clue not only to general abilities but also to specific abilities and disabilities. The report is now being used on all the older mentally subnormal children in special classes and serves as a basis of educational and vocational guidance. From three to five thousand such reports are now being made each year. It is rather remarkable that class-room teachers and school administrators show much more interest in these detailed reports than they formerly did in the general results stated in terms of letter ratings and intelligence quotients.

A very large majority of maladjusted pupils at the junior- and senior-high-school levels have no well-defined vocational

<sup>6</sup> HARRY J. BAKER "Characteristic Differences in Bright and Dull Pupils," Public School Publishing Company, Bloomington, Ill., 1927.

<sup>7</sup> "Detroit Mechanical Aptitudes Examination for Boys"; "... for Girls." Public School Publishing Company, Bloomington, Ill., 1928.

<sup>8</sup> ALEX. C. CROCKETT "Detroit Tests of Manual Ability," C. H. Stoelting Company, Chicago, Ill., 1932.

interests. Many of them are merely drifting and, therefore, have no particular motivation to their school endeavors or their activities outside of school. The analysis of problem cases from the standpoint of vocational aptitude, the discovery of their special abilities, and some emphasis upon educational and vocational guidance prove to be helpful not only from the standpoint of guidance itself, but as therapeutic measures in maladjustments.

## ANALYSIS OF GROUP TEST RESULTS

For Use with Detroit Mechanical Aptitudes Examination for Boys and  
Detroit Advanced Intelligence Test by Harry J. Baker

Name John Doe School Any  
Grade II Birth Date Jan. 24, 1919 Date of Testing 9-26-1934

DETROIT MECHANICAL APTITUDES (BOYS)			DETROIT ADVANCED INTELLIGENCE TEST		
Chron.	Test	Letter	Chron.	Test	Letter
Age 15-8	Score 180	Rating A	Age 15-8	Score 115	Rating C+
General Mechanical Aptitude Age 18-8			General Mental Age 16-7		
A. Information		19-0	A. Information		17-6
1. Tool Recognition		17-6	1. General		18-6
4. Tool Information		19-0	3. Classification		15-4
7. Machine Information		20-0	B. Vocabulary, Opposites 2.		17-7
B. Motor Skill		20-3	C. Visual Imagery, Blocks 5.		17-6
2. Tracing		20-0	D. Reasoning Analogies 7.		14-0
5. Sorting		20-3	E. Educational		15-9
C. Visual		16-8	4. Arith. (No. Series)		13-0
3. Relative Sizes		17-0	6. Spelling (Misspelled)		18-1
6. Matching Blocks		17-3	8. Reading (Mixed		
8. Pulleys and Belts		16-2	Sentences)		13-0
Interpretation: Excellent.	Best in		Interpretation: Good.	Best in Spell-	
Motor Skill; Poorest in Visual	Imagery.		ing and General Information;	poorest in Arithmetic and Reading.	

There are several types of cases referred to the individual examiners of the Psychological Clinic at the time of their regular visits once a semester to all schools. A few of these major groups will now be briefly considered:

*a. The Mentally Subnormal.* One of the main groups consists of the mentally subnormal who are found in the regular grades. Although there are approximately 4,000 such children in special classes, there is a continual influx of new cases and a gradual identification of others which the clinic has not had time or opportunity to examine on previous visits. A preliminary

identification of these children is made through the group mental tests, supplemented by their school history and status. Many of these children are characterized primarily by defective intelligence. On account of these defects, they are maladjusted in their regular grades and tend to drift into antisocial behavior in the regular classrooms. After they are absorbed into the special classes for a brief time, most of these tendencies gradually disappear. Those who continue to be unusually difficult in this respect are transferred to the Moore School for Boys if the behavior is considered a greater defect than the intelligence. Others are sent directly to the Wayne County Training School mentioned above, or after a fair trial in the special classes.

*b. Special Educational Disability.* This group of children is failing in regular school work and many of them are considered mentally subnormal by teachers and principals. The psychological tests disclose many of them to be of only dull or even average intelligence. In fact, occasional children of very high intelligence have special educational disability. A more detailed psychological "profile" is made on these types to discover the immediate causes of specific disability.

As a means of diagnosis in this field we have recently developed a new psychological examination known as The Detroit Tests of Learning Aptitude.<sup>9</sup> These tests are constructed on a point-scale basis with nineteen different tests covering a wide variety of mental faculties as per the table shown on page 167.

To each child approximately twelve tests are given and arranged in order, from best to poorest, on a "profile." The median of the tests gives a mental age comparable to that of the Stanford-Binet Examination. Children with special educational disability frequently show marked defects in such special tests as auditory ability or as in orientation, practical judgment, others in time and space relationships.

Several years ago we made a detailed survey of seven elementary schools studying the records of all children 9 years of age chronologically. Of approximately 900 records, 60 children were selected who seemed to have special disability, and three coaching teachers were assigned to work with these pupils for a semester. A complete report of this investigation, including the

<sup>9</sup> HARRY J. BAKER and BERNICE LELAND, "The Detroit Tests of Learning Aptitude," Public School Publishing Company, Bloomington, Ill., 1935.

case studies, was prepared by the writer and is entitled "Educational Disability and Case Studies in Remedial Teaching."<sup>10</sup> Practically all of these 60 children not only had educational disability but social and personality maladjustments as well. It

THE TESTS AND SPECIFIC MENTAL FACULTIES  
MEASURED BY THE DETROIT TESTS OF LEARNING APTITUDE

Test	Reasoning and Comprehension	Practical Judgment	Verbal Ability	Time and Space Relationships	Number Ability	Auditory Attentive Ability	Visual Attentive Ability	Motor Ability
1. Pictorial Absurdities.....	x	..	..	..	..	..	x	
2. Verbal Absurdities.....	x	..	x	..	..	..		
3. Pictorial Opposites.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	x	
4. Verbal Opposites.....	..	..	x	..	..	..		
5. Motor Speed and Precision...	..	x	..	..	..	..	..	x
6. Auditory Attention Span for Unrelated Words.....	..	..	..	..	..	x		
7. Oral Commissions.....	..	x	..	..	x	x	..	x
8. Social Adjustment A.....	x							
9. Visual Attention Span for Objects.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	x	
10. Orientation.....	x	x	..	x	..	..		
11. Free Association.....	..	..	x	..	..	..		
12. Memory for Designs.....	..	..	..	x	..	..	x	x
13. Auditory Attention Span for Related Syllables.....	..	..	..	..	..	x		
14. Number Ability.....	..	..	..	..	x			
15. Social Adjustment B.....	x							
16. Visual Attention Span for Letters.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	x	
17. Broken Pictures.....	x	..	..	x	..	..	x	
18. Oral Directions.....	..	x	..	..	..	x	x	x
19. Likenesses and Differences....	..	..	x					

was difficult to determine whether behavior or disability were cause or effect. Probably they operate concurrently. In any event, the correction of educational disability by these special teachers and by the regular teachers served to lessen the social and personality maladjustments.

<sup>10</sup> HARRY J. BAKER, "Educational Disability and Case Studies in Remedial Teaching," Public School Publishing Company, Bloomington, Ill., 1929.



At present continual emphasis is being placed upon cases of educational disability. All such cases discovered by the individual examiners are referred to a member of the clinic staff,<sup>11</sup> who makes special contacts with many of the schools. Regular classroom teachers and principals attempt to carry out individual adjustments.<sup>12</sup>

*c. Physical and Sensory Disability.* In an earlier section the health examination of all pupils by teachers, nurses, and physicians from the Board of Health was described. Many of these cases of extreme physical and sensory disability also offer problems of educational maladjustment and become subjects of clinical study. Social work is undertaken by the clinic staff in the correction of physical defects as well as recommendations for educational therapy. The more extreme types of cases in these fields are examined from a physical point of view by the various departments of the Board of Health and placed in suitable special groups such as the school for cripples, the blind and sight-saving classes, classes for the deaf and hard of hearing, and classes for lowered vitality. At the time when children are admitted to the schools for crippled and deaf by the examining physician, a mental examiner from our Psychological Clinic gives appropriate psychological examinations which supplement the physical diagnosis. In these special schools it is considered very important to learn the mental status of these children so that instruction may proceed at an effective level. There is a very harmonious and practical cooperation between the Board of Health, the Psychological Clinic, and the instructional program in all these types of special schools.

*d. Behavior Maladjustments.* Many children are referred directly to the Psychological Clinic as behavior cases. Some of these are examined at the time of regular visits to the schools; others are allowed to be sent directly by principals to the Moore School or the outlying behavior classes; others are examined on appointment at special district clinics run at frequent intervals.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Miss Bernice Leland.

<sup>12</sup> HARRY J. BAKER and BERNICE LELAND, "In Behalf of Non-Readers," Public School Publishing Company, Bloomington, Ill., 1934.

<sup>13</sup> For a complete description of the techniques of diagnosis and treatment which have been developed in the psychological clinic, see HARRY J. BAKER and VIRGINIA TRAPHAGEN, "The Diagnosis and Treatment of Behavior Problem Children," The Macmillan Company, New York, 1935.

In the junior and senior high schools the individual psychological service covers mostly cases of personality and behavior maladjustments although they also have a quota of the other types of cases as well. In the past two or three years some special classes for the older mental subnormals have been incorporated as a part of the junior high schools and afford relief for cases that have come in from various sources and were never enrolled in suitable classes in the elementary grades. Recently the junior and senior high schools have been assembling all of their failing and maladjusted cases for a series of vocational examinations noted in an earlier section. The "profile" illustration of John Doe<sup>14</sup> is made out on all these problems and the individual examiner finds it valuable as a basis for interview with the pupil himself and the counselor, or home-room teacher, and the parent. Upon a visit to these schools, examiners find it more profitable to interview many cases a day on this basis rather than to concentrate intensively upon a smaller number of problems.

Altogether, a total of approximately 6,000 cases are examined by the clinic each year. This represents approximately two per cent of the total school enrollment and is, therefore, quite a minimum program in comparison to what might actually be done. The trends in this service, on account of limited staff, must be in the direction of as many group procedures as possible with individual interpretation of these results. However, it is recognized that a limited number of cases need and secure rather intensive individual work.

Studies of the mental abilities of children with behavior problems show a very great preponderance of cases clustering around the lower 80's in intelligence quotients. There is a small percentage of children definitely feeble-minded at one extreme of this distribution and a suitable number of average and a few bright children classified as behavior problems. This distribution is very similar to that obtained in other school systems such as Chicago in which the average intelligence quotient of children with behavior problems is also about 82. It is believed that these dull children are bright enough to show some initiative and to create certain disturbance in school and society but they are not sufficiently intelligent to force the results and consequences of their antisocial actions.

<sup>14</sup> See p. 167.

From the standpoint of education it is very important that adjustments be made in the way of modified curricula and material suited to their needs, so that these children do not become dissatisfied or discouraged by their education.

At best, children of dull or low average intelligence find it difficult to strike a balance between their mental and emotional abilities. Probably the emotional and basic instinctive trends tend to predominate over their intelligence and insight. In the case of the mentally superior the condition tends to be reversed although there is not a perfect correlation by any means between intelligence levels and these balances. This entire topic should be the subject for extensive research both in and out of school situations.

For all children who are given individual psychological examination a physician from the Psychological Clinic gives a minimum physical examination. This inspection is chiefly for sensory defects, any unusual or obvious heart, lung, or skin condition. No physical examinations are made of the children stripped and no exact treatment prescribed. Whenever physical defects are discovered a notice is sent to the parents advising them to arrange a complete examination for the children to correct the defect in question. In this manner and through the efforts of the Board of Health noted above, many of the physical defects of Detroit school children are eventually corrected.

Many of the mentally subnormal and other handicapped children have one or more physical defects of some degree in addition to their other disabilities. It is the writer's belief that all these defects, operating in combination, tend to produce extreme disability and maladjustment in the same manner as faulty timing, defective spark plugs, dirty valves, and poor gasoline impair the efficiency operation of a motor car.

Four staff members of the Psychological Clinic are designated primarily for social service. As noted previously, all the other divisions of the staff also conduct a large amount of service along with the psychological. The Social Service Department is responsible for contacts with other agencies and with parents in the correction of various defects. The continuous accounting system is maintained with the Board of Health and many corrections are made and the educational recommendations completed or revised in the light of these corrections.

The Social Service Department also assists in the commitment of various mental types to suitable institutions such as the Wayne County Training School or the State School for Feeble-minded. In all such cases the parents are assisted in filling out the necessary application papers to the Probate Court, in the preparation of a suitable case history for the institution itself, and in being present at the actual hearing of the case before the Judge of the Probate Court. Unless this type of service is maintained, these public-school cases are not committed and sent to institutions since many of the parents do not show the initiative necessary to complete a rather strange and unusual and, possibly, distasteful procedure.

Another major activity of the Social Service Department is in the complete social diagnosis and treatment of behavior-problem cases. These cases are referred to the Department by the individual examiners who do not have time or opportunity to make complete investigations and guide treatment. Many of these children are eventually transferred to the Moore School or the outlying classes noted in an earlier section. Others are carried on as active cases by the Social Service Department.

In addition to the program of the Psychological Clinic, the Department of Attendance of the Detroit public schools maintains an active contact in handling problems of delinquency. There is a close cooperation between the Psychological Clinic and the Department of Attendance in securing examinations and diagnoses of problem cases that come to the attention of the Department of Attendance. This Department also maintains a close working arrangement with the Juvenile Court, the Probation Officers, the Department of Juvenile Police.

All the intermediate schools of Detroit have a girls' counselor and a boys' counselor who deal with many problems of adjustment in addition to their other duties. There is also a close working relationship between these counselors, the attendance officers, and the staff of the Psychological Clinic. There are three members of various staffs who have had the specific training for visiting-teacher work. One of them is now a member of the social-service staff of the Psychological Clinic, the second is engaged in dealing with the boys enrolled in the Moore School and outlying classes as mentioned in an earlier section. The third

visiting teacher is attached to the girls' vocational schools in which there are many problems of maladjustment.

The social agencies of the city have a well-coordinated plan of exchange between themselves and the schools in handling various types of adjustments. In addition to the central Council of Social Agencies which include representatives of approximately 80 organizations there is a series of councils by districts whose jurisdiction roughly follows the 10 districts of the city under which the Department of Public Welfare operates. In all of these special areas cooperative enterprises are undertaken similar to those organized in Los Angeles.\* In several of these districts excellent work has been done in attempting to build up better facilities for recreation and social adjustment. In these enterprises racial and religious lines are entirely forgotten. The schools and their various adjustment agencies, such as the Psychological Clinic and the Department of Attendance take an active part. It was the writer's privilege last year to serve as president of the Boys' Work Council of Detroit—a group of men representing 42 different agencies banded together informally for the purpose of knowing and understanding each other's fields and learning how to cooperate more effectively. Similar groups are being organized in other cities.

The following three cases are briefly illustrative of the type of crime preventive work being carried on by the Detroit public schools:

*Case I.* J., now twelve years of age, has been known to the clinic for a period of four years. Psychological examination showed him to be of dull normal intelligence (intelligence quotient of 81). He was both a problem of educational disability and school discipline. J. had temper tantrums at school and at home. His foster mother (actually an aunt) was very critical toward the schools on account of the poor progress of J. He reflected these attitudes in his own school behavior and tried to place all the blame for his lack of progress on the school.

His case illustrates the operation of more than one factor in the etiology of his misbehavior. Treatment of J. was conducted from two phases of the Psychological Clinic, one dealing with his reading disability carried on in conjunction with his regular teachers by the special worker in charge of reading disability; the other phase carried on by the social worker with J. and with the problems of his home. In the reading

\* See Chapter II on Los Angeles Coordinating Council Plan.—EDITORS' NOTE.

situation he seemed to be characterized by reversals by equal use of both hands and pointed to his right eye when asked to show his left. His mother had also forced him to use his right hand even though the left seemed to be the natural one in this case. He is a typical case of reading disability characterized by the interference with handedness. A return to his left-handedness and the easing of the emotional strains and inhibitions tended to bring about an improvement in his reading ability.

With this change, his parents gradually became more satisfied with the school and cooperated in the handling of his discipline at home.

He is now taking a much more mature attitude about responsibility in school and his temper tantrums are tending to disappear. His case probably needs to be followed over a long period of years so that it may not lapse into the conditions existing at the beginning of his treatment.

*Case II.* This girl, H., was reported from one of the high schools. She was fourteen years of age and in the ninth grade. Her intelligence quotient was 78. She had been known over a period of two years previously as a problem child in one of the elementary schools. She was a very large, overgrown girl, a glandular type, and was treated for bladder incontinence at one of the local hospitals. She was very jealous of her younger sisters who were more favorably endowed from the standpoint of physical and personality virtues. She had a very deep bass, masculine voice which was eventually modified to a somewhat higher pitch. None of the boys in the high school would dance with her on account of her size.

Later she was sent to summer camp for two summers where she made a remarkably good adjustment. She also joined the Girl Scouts and made a better adjustment socially by attending a dancing class.

The family suffered financial reverses and were on public relief. Later, the clinic worker was able to find employment for the father which materially changed his entire attitude toward the worker's efforts in solving H.'s problem.

In her case it is obvious that physical disabilities produced social maladjustments but the social maladjustments were treated as a special psychological problem along with correction of her physical defects. The treatment in her case extended over a period of more than two years with visits as often as once a week for certain periods of time.

*Case III.* C. has been known to the Psychological Clinic for over five years. He was first reported at the age of seven. At that time he had no self-control in social matters, continually strove for attention, was unable to concentrate, would not remain in his seat in school. Two psychological examinations showed him to be of rather dull intelligence with intelligence quotients of 84 and 86 respectively at intervals of about three years. He repeated the entire first grade. In his background are certain physical difficulties. He was undernourished and underweight,

his mother reported rickets until four years of age. He had also suffered his share of children's diseases, including measles, whooping cough, and influenza. At the age of seven he had scarlet fever but made a good recovery.

He is an only child and his parents are of fair financial and cultural status. At the age of about ten years C. began to steal. All the things which he stole were comparatively valueless to him and he made a practice of burying them in various places in his neighborhood instead of using them or spending the money.

He has been under the intensive treatment of a staff worker for the past three or four years and is gradually improving. Summer camps have been arranged and he had adapted himself fairly well to the group life there. Until recently he has been very strongly hated by all of the children. Gradually his rejection by other children is disappearing and he has been able to go on special trips with the rest of his classmates and to be accepted by them. Slowly there has developed a different attitude in his home with regard to him and a better understanding so that he now feels more emotionally secure.

The question of the results of our efforts in the Detroit public schools to diagnose and treat maladjusted children is a difficult one. Many children are referred to us by the regular schools. Psychological and other examinations and the history are taken and suggestions made to the home and the school. Unless the cases seem to be very difficult, or the school or parents make another inquiry, we do not have sufficient staff continually to check their progress. We go on the assumption that if the child continues to be maladjusted, he will be referred to us again. It would be much more ideal, of course, to set up a plan by which we could automatically check all cases, but our clinic is devoted primarily to service and we have little time for the research and follow-up which is really necessary. At best, there is some follow-up at the Moore School for Boys which shows that from 10 to 20 per cent of the cases do not seem to be well adjusted. Last year a student worker was assigned to make a spot map of approximately 350 former students of the Moore School who are now from 18 to 21 years of age. An attempt was made to locate these boys, many of whom had been out of school from two to five years. It was intended to contact many of them for possible placement in C. C. C. Camps. However, the actual attempt to locate these boys at their last-known addresses was very unsuccessful. Only about 5 per cent were found.

Until more staff is provided, we are unable to be any more definite in regard to the result of our efforts.

From the presentation of the program of the Detroit public schools in selecting, diagnosing, and treating children with all types of maladjustment, the writer hopes it is evident that the school authorities are fully aware of the role which such a program may play in the reduction of delinquency. Certainly provision for all types of handicapped children may be regarded as a definite step in the prevention of delinquency. Many children with physical defects, for example, unless given special attention in the schools become fertile soil for delinquency. Similarly, the general program of the Psychological Clinic makes possible the adjustment of all types of maladjusted children. The Vocational Testing Service is certainly an important avenue to the prevention of delinquency. And certainly the service rendered by the Moore School for boys with behavior difficulties, and the commitment of young delinquents to institutions, are all part of a crime-prevention program.

Although all of our effort is crime preventive, we think of it more in the light of an educational program and this is how we prefer to designate it.



## Chapter X

### THE BINET SCHOOLS OF NEWARK

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Special classes for the mentally retarded were not started for the express purpose of preventing crime. They are not now organized especially as crime-prevention agencies. The apparent reason for the organization of special education for the mentally retarded is to give educational opportunities to a group of children who are profiting little if any from attending school. Before special education became a reality, teachers and principals attempted to bring all children "up to grade" without reference to their mental ability to do the work. Those children who for one reason or another were unable to meet the requirements either found a way to adjust with satisfaction to themselves or submitted as best they could until such time as the law permitted them to leave school. The children who neither adjusted nor submitted revolted in the only way they knew how to revolt, and sought their satisfactions in temper tantrums, truancy, stealing, bullying, and other types of antisocial behavior. All of the children who show antisocial behavior in school do not develop into criminals later on in life. Some of them use these drives in

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constructive activities and become aggressive and successful in business or the professions. The mentally retarded individuals need much more help to change their destructive tendencies into constructive activities than do normal individuals.

In a study by Dr. Eleanor T. Glueck of mental retardation in its relation to juvenile delinquency are found the statements:

Ninety-two per cent of the delinquents of lower intelligence had either been truants or had otherwise misbehaved in school (82 per cent had been truants). The delinquents of higher intelligence did not show quite the same extent of school maladjustment as the lesser proportion of 82 per cent had either been truants or otherwise showed school dissatisfactions (72 per cent had been truants). This degree of difference in school misbehavior probably has to do with the fact that the delinquents of lower intelligence had more difficulties in keeping the scholastic pace and that, as stated above, no special recognition had been given to their need for segregation in classes for retarded children.<sup>1</sup>

This statement, based on careful statistical studies, confirms the opinions of those who are working closely with the problem of educating the mentally retarded children in school. In the preface to "Juvenile Delinquency" by Dr. H. H. Goddard, these statements are found:

There are two million people in the United States who, because of their weak minds, or their diseased minds are making our country a dangerous place to live in. . . . The two million is increasing both by heredity and by training. We are breeding defectives. We are making criminals. . . . Our courts are picking up many thousands of delinquent boys and girls every year. A very small percentage of them ever are restored so as to contribute their share to the general welfare. The most of them are always a burden and many of them become our most dangerous criminals.

Why is this so? . . . Because we have made no effort to understand these children. . . . Pessimism? No, the foundation of optimism. All this can be prevented. A large part of adult criminality can be eradicated.<sup>2</sup>

The evidence of the need of some means of preventing the development of habits of delinquency is so obvious that there is no reason why the facts supporting this evidence should be repeated

<sup>1</sup> "Mental Retardation and Juvenile Delinquency," *Journal of Mental Hygiene*, Vol. XIX, No. 4, pp. 549-572, October, 1935.

<sup>2</sup> H. H. GODDARD, "Juvenile Delinquency."

here. The important thing is to learn what is being done to prevent "the making of criminals." Just as there are a number of contributing causes in the making of a delinquent or criminal, so there are a number of agencies which may contribute to the prevention or cure of delinquent careers. The school is one of these contributing agencies for the prevention and cure of habits of delinquency. The special schools and classes are a section of the school system which deals especially with the mentally retarded who according to all reports furnish more than their share of delinquents and criminals.

Although special education for the mentally retarded was not planned primarily as a crime-preventive measure, it does become an important means of eradicating some of the causes of delinquency and it gives opportunity for the proper treatment of incipient antisocial behavior. Its role then falls chiefly in the realm of prevention and treatment. If transferring a child with behavior disorders from the regular grade to a special class is all that were needed to change that child from an antisocial to a social being, the prevention of delinquency and of the development of criminal careers would be a comparatively simple matter. However, the transfer of the child from one department of the school system to another is merely an administrative device to eliminate the factors in curriculum and method which may promote delinquency. The purpose of any curriculum is to furnish opportunities to the children to learn what they should know, and to develop skills and attitudes which will prove useful to them as children and as adults. If the curriculum fails to provide these opportunities, the children not only do not learn what they should, or acquire the skills they need, but they more often than not develop antisocial attitudes which are expressed in truancy, fighting, lying, stealing, and a host of other habits of delinquency. If an unsuitable curriculum can actually be an important contributing cause of delinquency, nothing would seem to be easier than to replace an unsuitable curriculum with one that is suitable.

It has been far from easy to effect a change in the curriculum. In the early days of special classes for the mentally retarded the idea was to segregate the children and give them the same curriculum only at a slower pace. Even when this did not work it was with great difficulty that school authorities and parents were

persuaded to replace the traditional subject matter of the schools with activities through which the mentally retarded children could learn and develop whatever abilities they had. It is likely that tradition still has power to determine what should be taught. Literacy has been so emphasized in this country that our citizens believe that it gives them social position to be able to read. Children whose parents cannot read are ashamed of them regardless of their true worth to their families and to the community. And so, too, parents lacking opportunities themselves become eager to give the children what they themselves have lacked. When it happens that these parents have mentally retarded children who perhaps are not able to learn to read, or begin to learn to read slowly, they become very much concerned and think to punish the children or blame the school until both are goaded to further effort. This makes an exceedingly unhappy situation for those children who already are handicapped in the race of book learning because of innate lack of mental ability, and it is small wonder that the more sturdy of them begin to try to show both parents and school that they *can* succeed in bullying or fighting or getting more money than anybody else even if through illegal means. Questions of abstract morality do not concern the mentally retarded. Success is the important thing no matter how attained.

In the special classes this desire for success is capitalized. Activities are emphasized which give opportunities for success. Subjects in which mentally retarded children are weak are taught when they are necessary to their development and social needs, but the children are motivated through those activities in which they have ability. Reading, for example is a subject in which mentally retarded children are weak. They are introduced to reading long before they are mentally old enough to be able to make any progress, and therefore they experience failure in reading during their very first year of school. Immediately both school and home begin to bring pressure on the children to do something they cannot do. The emotional effect of this pressure is sometimes appalling. It gives these children, already tormented with difficulties, a further handicap. The special-class teachers must not only know how to teach reading to slow-learning children but must also know how to ease the emotional blocking which has been set up. This they do by selecting a method

of teaching reading which will assure *progress* on the part of each individual child in the class, and, more than that, progress which will be in accord with each individual child's ability. Thus, a measure of success is assured each and every child. In addition to having the mechanics of reading a child must have something in his experience which will help him interpret what he reads. The activities and the socialized part of the teaching program must furnish opportunities to acquire the necessary experiences with which to interpret reading.

What has reading to do with the prevention of crime? It may be difficult to determine how much or how little it has to do with it, but the fact that it may have even a little relation to the elimination of behavior disorders which lead to the development of delinquency makes the subject of reading important in the discussion of crime prevention. What is true of reading is also true of every subject and activity in the school curriculum. This curriculum must provide situations with a series of goals within the abilities of the children who must be led through their own activities to make adaptation to meet those goals. Each goal reached means a measure of success. The prevention of the development of personality and behavior disorders which may later lead to delinquency and crime very definitely depends to a great extent on curriculum content and teaching procedures. It is not a case of the school teaching reading or other subjects and the home teaching a child how to behave. Reading is tied up with behavior, and behavior is involved in the reading situation. Crime prevention begins with the everyday situations in everyday life.

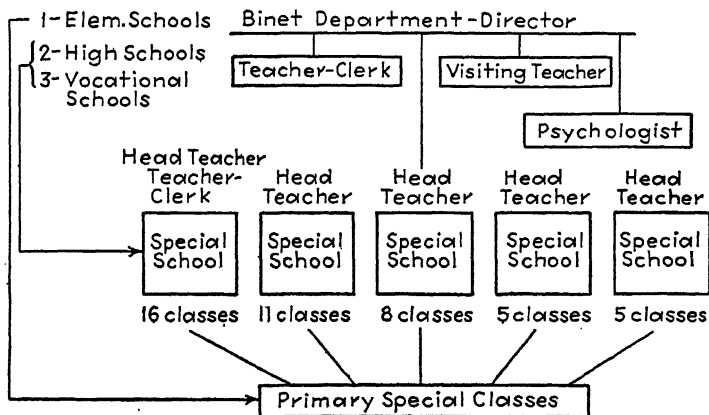
The present organization of the Binet Department in Newark, New Jersey, includes both special classes in elementary schools and special schools which are given over entirely to the education of mentally retarded children. The special classes in elementary-school buildings are organized to provide for the young mentally retarded children. Theoretically, every child is promoted to a special school at twelve years of age. Practically, this procedure is not always possible, but generally speaking this is the procedure followed.

Where there are as many as three primary classes for the mentally retarded under twelve years of age in a single elementary-school building, it is possible to grade the classes very

carefully. There are comparatively few children under eight years of age in the special classes. Therefore, the primary classes provide for the needs of the children whose ages range from eight to eleven, inclusive.

The special schools are organized on the departmental plan and give opportunities for intermediate and advanced work in the activities for mentally retarded children whose chronological ages range from twelve to sixteen. A few children stay in school until they are eighteen. There are five special schools in Newark, having a total of 45 classes. Each special school has a supervising head teacher in charge. There are 30 special classes located in the various elementary-school buildings. The maximum of children in each class is supposed to be 25. However, there are a few classes which have thirty or more children enrolled, and there are a few classes located in outlying districts which have only twenty children enrolled. With the present facilities, the Binet Department can provide education for something less than 2,000 children.

The organization presents this sort of picture:



It has taken the Binet Department twenty-five years to reach its present development in Newark. The first classes (five) were organized in 1910 under the present director. From then until the present depression years, the number of classes gradually increased as the need grew apparent. In the meantime, however, the compulsory-education age of children has been raised to include children of sixteen years, and intensive studies of the

types and needs of all children attending the public schools have been made which have resulted in a reevaluation and revamping of curricula of the schools. At the present writing, the workers in the elementary schools and the special schools are to a great extent talking the same language. It is impossible to predict what effect this will have on the special education of the mentally retarded in separate units of the school system. It may be that *all* education will become special education and that mentally retarded children will become merely children to be educated according to their abilities and limitations. It is, however, very important that this trend does not develop so fast as to lose what has been gained during the past quarter of a century. The special classes and the special schools, in particular, have demonstrated what can be done for the mentally retarded and they should not be discarded until the regular grades of the elementary schools are equipped to maintain the gain already made.

The policies and principles under which the Binet Schools and classes function in Newark are as follows:

- I. Standard. The pupils' success shall be the schools' success and the pupils' failure shall be the schools' failure.
- II. Aim. To teach children to behave as they otherwise would not behave, as well as to teach them to know what they otherwise would not know.
- III. Policies formulated for the purpose of maintaining this standard and carrying out this aim:
  1. No children to be expelled for behavior disorders. By this is meant that no children will be expelled from the department. It will be found occasionally desirable to transfer a child from one school to another in order to find work better suited to the child, or in order to remove him from the influence of a gang. The constructive side of the move should be emphasized.
  2. No children should be brought up before the court on charges presented by the school, *save in very exceptional cases*.
  3. No working papers should be granted to children merely to get rid of troublesome cases. Working papers should be granted only to children who have earned them. However, every child should be given every opportunity to *earn* his working papers if he desires to do so.
- IV. Organization which will permit the carrying out of these policies must provide for:

1. Examination of children before assignment for physical, mental, and pedagogical handicaps.
2. Yearly examinations to determine physical, mental, and pedagogical improvement.
3. Proper grading of children.
4. Activities and subjects suitable to special children.
5. Improvement of the homes and environment through the influence of the school.
6. Cooperation with all social-service agencies.
7. Cooperation with all local clinics.
8. Training of teachers in service by means of
  - a. Staff meetings.
  - b. Professional university courses.
  - c. Local lectures on special phases of the work.
  - d. Suggested reading of helpful books.

This scheme of organization has served as a point of departure, rather than as a model guaranteed to work under all circumstances. Every scheme must be subject to change as developments seem to warrant it. It has helped the special-class teachers to work together and it has helped to keep before the teachers the basic attitudes needed, and the things to be done if children are to be successfully adjusted in school. Since so many of the children in the special classes have been placed there for poor behavior in school, in addition to low mentality, the task of carrying out the provisions of any scheme such as the one outlined is extremely difficult. Furthermore, the teacher-pupil relationship presents problems which need to be taken into account. Being perfectly human, teachers show in varying degrees the strength and weakness common to people in general. They often take many of the behavior outbursts of the children too personally. Now and then, the final outbreak of a behavior episode is the last "straw which breaks the camel's back" and therefore is regarded as an offense for which due punishment is needed. In order to help the teacher keep a more objective viewpoint and help her to maintain a perspective on the offender and also to help her to see the behavior disorder as a symptom of a basic maladjustment, a social rating scale is used in the department of Binet Schools. This is the scale which is in use at present. It is given in full because it is so basic an instrumentality of our work with mentally retarded children:



BOARD OF EDUCATION  
Newark, N. J.  
*Binet Department*  
SOCIAL RATING SCALE

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Total Score \_\_\_\_\_

School \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

SCHOOL

1. Does he attend school regularly?

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

0  
Frequently  
truant

1  
Truant  
occasionally

2  
Attends upon  
compulsion

3  
Absent only for  
good excuse

4  
Never  
absent

2. Does he attend school punctually?

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

0  
Frequently  
late

1  
Late  
occasionally

2  
Late  
seldom

3  
Late for  
good excuse

4  
Never  
late

3. Is he an active member of the school?

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

0  
Keeps entirely  
to himself

1  
Shows little  
interest in school

2  
Participates only  
when urged

3  
Usually  
participates

4  
Is an active  
participant

4. Does he accept authority?

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

0  
Defiant

1  
Questions  
authority

2  
Ordinarily  
obedient

3  
Complies  
by habit

4  
Obeys  
willingly

HOME

5. What is economic status of home?

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

0  
Has always needed  
help of Social  
Agency or others

1  
Generally  
needs  
help

2  
Occasionally  
needs  
help

3  
Only needs  
help under  
stress

4  
Never needs help  
from Social Agency  
or others

6. What is the parental attitude toward this child?

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

0  
Neglectful, do not  
accept as respected  
member

1  
Over  
solicitous

2  
Accepted with  
little feeling  
either way

3  
Usual  
care

4  
Has share  
of affection  
and respect

7. What is the child's feeling about home?

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

0  
Stays or runs  
away from home  
on occasions1  
Has no  
interest  
in home2  
Accepts home  
with little  
feeling3  
Is ordinarily  
fond of  
home4  
Fond of home  
and feels part  
in it

8. What is relationship between home and school?

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

0  
Parents refuse  
to coöperate1  
Parents take  
no interest2  
Parents coöperate  
when asked3  
Usual  
coöperation4  
Parents interested  
and coöperative

## WORK

9. Is he successful in achievement?

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

0  
Accomplishes  
nothing1  
Accomplishes  
little2  
Accomplishes only  
under pressure3  
Fair accomplishment  
for ability4  
Accomplishment  
up to ability

10. Does he follow directions?

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

0  
Pays no  
attention  
to directions1  
Needs many  
repetitions  
of directions2  
Needs  
occasional  
repetitions3  
Follows  
directions  
ordinarily4  
Follows  
directions  
explicitly

11. Is his effort sustained?

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

0  
Goes from  
one thing  
to another1  
Hard to keep at  
job unless urged  
or rewarded2  
Gives  
a fair  
trial3  
Interest  
well  
sustained4  
Persists  
until  
finished

12. Is his work accurate?

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

0  
Job poorly done  
if done at all1  
Poor standards  
of work2  
Job  
fair3  
Job  
well done4  
Job completed accord-  
ing to standards set

## PHYSICAL

13. Is he physically efficient?

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

0  
Weak or  
physical defects1  
Some  
physical defects2  
Not up to  
standard physically3  
Ordinary  
physique4  
Good physique  
for age

14. Has he good health habits?

0  
Poor  
health  
habits1  
Does not follow  
many rules of  
health2  
Ordinary  
health  
habits3  
Good  
health  
habits4  
Obeys rules of health—  
food, sleep and  
recreation

15. Does he maintain a good posture?

0  
Slumps in  
any  
position1  
Needs a great deal  
of reminding  
about posture2  
Good posture  
when  
reminded3  
Usually  
good  
posture4  
Good sitting  
and standing  
posture

16. Does he show cleanliness in appearance?

0  
Very dirty and  
slovenly in appearance1  
Rather  
negligent2  
Inconspicuous3  
Usually neat and  
clean in appearance4  
Always neat and  
clean in appearance

## PERSONAL

17. Is he reliable?

0  
Extremely  
careless1  
Assumes responsibility  
unwillingly2  
Generally  
careful3  
Reliable4  
Always to  
be relied upon

18. Does he show initiative?

0  
Never has any  
suggestions  
no originality1  
Has few  
ideas  
of own2  
Accepts opportunities  
but fails to  
seek any3  
Seeks and  
weighs  
possibilities4  
Gives  
suggestions and  
has own ideas

19. Is he emotionally controlled?

0  
Poor emotional  
responses, apathetic  
or high strung1  
Instability  
easily  
irritated2  
Shows  
sensitivity  
under stress3  
Generally  
stable4  
Well  
poised

20. Is he independent?

0  
Babyish1  
Too dependent  
on others2  
Not independent  
consistently3  
Usually  
independent4  
Attempts to solve  
his own problems

21. Is he happy?

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

0  
Disgruntled  
and morose1  
Generally  
dispirited2  
Usually in  
good humor3  
Generally  
happy4  
Always  
cheerful

## SOCIAL

22. Does he get along with other children?

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

0  
Unfriendly, shunned  
by children1  
Unfriendly to children  
—friendly to adults2  
Few  
friends3  
Gets along  
with others4  
Makes friends  
easily

23. Does he respect the property of others?

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

0  
Has no respect  
for property  
of others1  
Has little regard  
for property  
of others2  
Takes some  
desired  
articles3  
Shows ordinary regard  
for property  
of others4  
Shows strict regard  
for other's  
property

24. Is he coöperative?

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

0  
Is unwilling  
to help1  
Coöperates only  
for selfish motives2  
Will help  
when asked3  
Usually  
coöperative4  
Always willing  
to help others

25. Is he courteous?

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

0  
Rude, insolent,  
vulgar1  
Has to be constantly  
reminded of courtesies2  
Usually remembers  
courtesies3  
Good  
manners4  
Gracious

The eight spaces in the little "boxes" at the right are used for recording successive ratings. These ratings range from 0 to 4. There are 25 items which give a maximum score of 100. To know a total numerical scale of any given child is helpful, but the scale is much more interesting as an analysis, superficial perhaps, but an analysis of the child's difficulties and his progress toward overcoming these difficulties. Low rating in any section—school, home, work, personal, physical, or social—indicates where corrective work should be done. Rising scores in any other section indicate that the child is making a better adjustment along these lines. On the other hand, diminishing scores point out the danger zones which need immediate attention. The use of these scales may be adapted to the needs of the situation. For the general run of pupils, ratings are given once a term. For special pupils needing extra study, the ratings are given as often as is necessary or helpful in the situation. The ingenious teacher will think of many uses to which to put the scale.

Noteworthy has been the interest of parents, social workers, attendance officers and Juvenile Court judges in the social-rating scale of a mentally retarded delinquent child, in the handling of whom they have had occasion to cooperate. The visiting teacher (psychiatric social worker) connected with the Binet Department has found the scale an invaluable aid in dealing with teacher-pupil, parent-teacher, and home relationships of mentally retarded children. In fact she is responsible for this latest revision of the scale.

It is difficult to estimate the effectiveness of the work of the Binet Schools in bringing about improvement in the habits of pupils. A report made in June, 1932, however, by one of the Binet Schools<sup>3</sup> shows an average improvement during the year of about 72 per cent in the habits of industry of the children (responding to direction without waste of time, accomplishing the teachers' expectations, perseverance). The report also shows an average improvement of approximately 76 per cent in the social habits of the children (getting along with other children, confessing wrongdoings and making amends, truth telling, being a good loser, refraining from copying others' work, showing respect for property and people, giving help to others). There is also reported an improvement of almost 80 per cent in the personal

<sup>3</sup> Ann Street School.

habits of the pupils (cleanliness in person, dress, speech, keeping school materials in good condition, courtesy, good posture, self-control, thrift).

Because of the difficulty of determining the progress of individual pupils by numerical results, even on a scale which rates social adjustment, teachers are encouraged to interpret the scores they obtain and write a description of the gains their pupils have made. The following are excerpts of teachers' reports, pertaining to a class as a whole:

There have been no cases of truancy this year and with one or two exceptions none have been absent without very good reasons. One boy who missed more than half of each month in a regular grade has missed only two days in the two years he has been with us.

The class numbers 21 boys. The time spent in Binet classes ranges from five months to four and a half years. The average per cent of improvement on the three points mentioned, based on the possible number of points taken from the social rating scale is 77 per cent for the class as a whole.

The gain for some has been very pronounced and for others rather slow. Attendance and length of time in class has much to do with this advancement.

There has been a decided improvement in the social habits of the children. I feel that I have overcome the quarreling between the white and the colored by establishing a better understanding of the rights of each.

When we began last September one of our difficult problems was the building up of good attendance. Our list of habitual truants numbered 27. The Attendance Department cooperated most faithfully. Our present list of truants contains two names, neither of which was on our original list of 27 names. The attendance for the year has ranged from 90 per cent to 92 per cent. The children come from all over the city.

Of the children in the class this June, 16 were given social ratings last June. Of this number 13 improved and 3 lowered their marks. All of these three are in their twelfth year, just entering adolescence, when even normal children show a decided lack of balance. The greatest number of points were gained on social and personal habits, showing that as a class these children have learned much in living with others and in looking out for themselves.

Below are a few reports by teachers on the progress made by individual problem children in the Binet classes:

*Case I.* Willie came to the class in November, 1930. When he first arrived he ran around the room much of the time on his hands and feet, jumped on chairs, etc. When spoken to he flew into a rage and kicked and screamed. His first tentative social rating was 14. Now Willie lies quietly on his rug during the rest hour when a monitor has charge of the class. When asked to a task, he says, "All right" and does it quickly and happily. When corrected, he admits his guilt and takes his punishment. His mother says the improvement at home is remarkable.

*Case II.* When I first took the class in February, it seemed impossible to teach Nancy anything. She showed a passive stubbornness (which I interpreted as indicating that the task was too difficult for her) and cried when urged. She was willing to sit quietly in her seat, occupying herself with sewing outlines (with poor results), stringing beads, or playing with plasticine. Her writing consists of making wavy lines and her numbers are all 1's. Personally and socially, Nancy seems decidedly introverted. She keeps to herself, and resents any interference or even attempts at friendliness from the other children. She seems to feel criticism very keenly and refuses to work if she thinks she is being watched. When the class was reorganized, and the higher-grade children promoted, a marked difference was noted in Nancy's attitude. It seemed as though she sensed the fact that now she was on a more equal level with the others, and that she had contributions to make. On the whole, her improvement has been in her *social and personal habits* rather than in industrial values or skills. She makes contributions to class discussions, often surprising her classmates into exclaiming, "Ooooh, Nancy knows it," or, "Nancy is getting smart." She has assumed responsibility for passing out the straws at milk time, for the doll's furniture, making the beds and dusting daily. She shows eagerness to take part in classroom activities, offering to recite or sing, when heretofore she withdrew from any group activity.

Her improvement is shown not only in her classroom conduct, but when she was recently tested, she showed a gain in mental age of one year and four months in a year and five months' time, with an accompanying gain in her intelligence quotient of 40 per cent. Of course, it is very likely that the gain in the intelligence quotient was responsible for the improvement, but it may also be likely that the new situations Nancy found herself in may have created a changed attitude and thus made it possible for her to show her actual ability at this time. This assumption may perhaps be considered the more valid since it is in the matter of *social and personal attitudes* that the improvement has been noted rather than in skills or knowledges.

*Case III.* Nick presents a case somewhat like that of Nancy, but with interesting variations. Despite a mental age of 6-1 and an intelligence quotient of 76, Nick was declared by his teachers to be "impossible" and a fine example of how little intelligence quotients and intelligence tests mean. Nick was perfectly willing to be let alone, and his response to any set task was always "I can't do it." He wept easily and seemed quite infantile. If sent on errands, he would leave the room and come back without having accomplished his objective. If given a task together with the rest of the class he would create an appearance of busyness, but did not attempt the work unless the teacher worked with him. His conduct was acceptable, but very poor as far as constructive activity was concerned.

With the reorganization of the class, Nick, like Nancy, seemed to sense an improvement in his status. There were so many things he could do better than the lower-grade children and he was called upon for much added responsibility. While "I can't" is still a frequent response, urging brings a smiling attempt to do the task, and a greater degree of perseverance, instead of tears. He shows anxiety to finish a job, is more than ready to go on errands and performs them successfully, is constantly asking quite intelligent questions concerning his former teachers. In January his social-rating score was 37, in June it was 71. Despite this evident improvement, his mental age shows a loss of three months in one year and nine months, with a resultant lowering of his intelligence quotient from 70 to 56.

*Case IV.* John entered the Binet Class at the X School in January, 1929. His intelligence quotient was 62, and changed but little at succeeding examinations, 58 in January, 1931, and 57 in March, 1932. His social-rating scores in March, 1929, averaged 55, but the succeeding scores showed a marked lowering of John's social responses, as follows: September, 1929, 15; January, 1930, 31; June, 1930, 33; October, 1930, 28; June, 1931, 30; November, 1931, 24. His latest score, in June, 1932, after nearly three months in the institutional class is 58. Here, too, the improvement is noted in those values relating to *social attitudes, habits of industry, and social habits*. He is no longer sullen and resentful, as he appeared when he first entered the class. He seems very affectionate, and responds very well to praise and encouragement, nor does he resent scoldings, rather showing an apologetic attitude regarding them. John shows one very good trait for a mentally limited child—the ability to keep at a piece of work within his ability for a long time, showing no restlessness and not tiring of its monotony and eagerly turning to it after interruption. Such perseverance should help him in making an adequate industrial adjustment, provided proper employment is found for him. Were it not for a matter of losing some papers, John would have been



committed to a state institution, yet his behavior in his present situation does not show that he is *socially unadjustable*.

*Case V.* William's case is not so encouraging. Despite a comparatively high intelligence quotient of 63, which has remained fairly constant, he has persistently made poor social-rating scores, ranging from 26 to 36. His present score is 49, but the least improvement has been made in social habits. William's behavior is very antisocial. In fact the children at first often asked that he be put out of the class. His relative superiority makes it possible for him to realize the defects of the others and he is cunning enough to be able to take advantage of this to tease the children. His behavior on the street and school grounds creates much trouble, and from the beginning he was reported almost daily by the school monitors for hitting smaller children. There has been a marked improvement here recently. Yet, he has a very lovable personality, and can be controlled by constant personal attention of the teacher, which, however, cannot always be given at the critical moment. William is not properly placed in the institutional class. It seems that he should be able to get along in a Binet class with children of his own age, provided he is given an opportunity to express some sort of superiority. Fortunately, he does have special ability in athletics, and through this may come his social salvation. However, since his home conditions do not seem very favorable, it may be better for him to be placed in an institution as has been recommended.

The following account by a teacher in one of the Binet Schools of her handling of a child with marked delinquent tendencies suggests the tremendous effort required and the amount of detailed work needed if delinquent tendencies are to be checked while children are still young enough to be helped. After a description of Dan's many and varied misbehaviors, the teacher says: "How is the teacher to handle these situations? She must study his background, his personal traits, his abilities, and deficiencies."

*Case VI.* At the age of nine, Dan was referred to the Child Guidance Department by the school because of "poor school progress." At the time the Binet test showed the following results: chronological age, 9-3; mental age, 6-8; intelligence quotient, 72. Subsequent Binet tests give intelligence quotients ranging from 75 to 78. Porteus Maze tests given two years apart give Porteus intelligence quotients of 108 to 112. Such results, in view of the prognostic values of both these tests, indicate the promise of good adjustment on a low academic level.

Since the most hopeful factor for Dan was indicated in his mental-test scores, he was made aware of their superiority as compared with his

accomplishments. With a Binet mental age of 9-3 and a Porteus mental age of 14-, his academic work was not above second-grade level. He was proud to be told that the tests showed that he should be doing fifth-grade work, and has shown an increasingly better effort to get up to grade. There are still times when the struggle seems too great, but the comeback is made a little more easily each time.

While the teacher's and visitor's attitude toward Dan's bad behavior is, as far as possible, objective, it is not impersonal—to Dan. They are his personal friends, who care a great deal about him. But disapproval and anger are directed at what he does, not at him. "Your tests show that you can do better, so there is no excuse for this kind of work," is usually fruitful of renewed effort. This does not mean that he is permitted to "get away with everything." Much is overlooked, but once an issue develops, it is faced and not dropped until settled. Demands upon the boy are as specific as possible. Too many demands at one time are confusing and disheartening to the child. At first, he worked for "not bothering the other children." To this was added "keeping at your work." Then only certain standards of work were accepted. And so on, until at present all factors involved in adequate school adjustment are considered in accepting Dan's claims for being ready to return to his class. How these standards are accepted by the child is interesting and encouraging to see. Dan came back to school in September with evident anxiety to do well. Upon being reprimanded for some misdeed, he said, "But I'm much better than I used to be, I don't hurt the children any more." He can now be given charge of the class or a group and be depended upon to actually help the children.

Reversions to former modes of behavior, however, are frequent. These usually follow some bad experience, perhaps at home, perhaps on the school grounds. An exciting week end, late hours, unwise dietary indulgences, resulting in fatigue and irritability, will bring behavior which makes all efforts appear in vain. But outbursts are milder, rebukes taken with less resentment, and voluntary apologies more frequently made. Self-criticism is evidenced by remarks such as "I'm getting dumb" rather than "How can I do anything? Everybody's bothering me."

Definite techniques to motivate the boy to better behavior were attempted. Offers of prizes and similar awards seemed to make an appeal, but proved quite worthless. Unless the time span was very short, a period of sincere effort would be nullified by an unfortunate loss of temper. Of course, the emphasis on a reward rather than the behavior itself is probably unwise, also. Promises of promotion at definite times were demanded by the boy, but could not be made, for conditions and ifs would be completely forgotten. Marks for work or

behavior did not mean much either, so the motivation resolved itself into accomplishments which showed progress.

Dan has a separate daily program. In support of the assertion that he is able to do higher work, his academic work follows as closely as possible that of the fourth grade and includes geography, history, spelling, reading, and arithmetic. During activity periods he is encouraged to take charge of a project, a group or an entire activity as in physical training. Of course, the more desired activities are curtailed if he doesn't accomplish what he has accepted as a daily minimum. This is more nearly a natural reward or punishment.

There is much that is discouraging in Dan's situation. A childhood of insecurity breeds habits and attitudes which are hard to overcome. But there is much that is hopeful. Among these latter factors are the contact of the social worker with the boy and his family, bringing about better relationships within the home; Dan's own native stability as indicated in the tests mentioned above, and best of all, his acceptance of responsibility for much in the situation and his real desire to make good. So at present, Dan is "just about getting along" but the signs point to his getting there.

Another description of the handling of a difficult child who is mentally retarded shows what methods are employed in the Binet Schools to improve these children:

*Case VII.* Corinne May was excluded from school on November 11, 1932. What a relief for the teacher and for this child too, who could now enjoy the freedom of the streets once again. After an unrestricted rampage for over a year Corinne May was brought back to school. Downstairs to the Binet Department she came, accompanied by her foster mother. This was in January, 1934. Somehow the streets had failed to adjust her. While her foster mother was telling all about her wild escapades of the past, Corinne May stood by, making all sorts of grimaces. Her foster mother promised to cooperate with our department in every possible manner and hoped we could do something to help her poor child. She then left and the teacher's task had begun.

This poor unfortunate child tried out all the pranks previously practiced in the 1-B class. At first, she upset the order of the classroom, too. The other children ridiculed and laughed at her. With this she became very antagonistic and displayed her violent temper by screaming and kicking. All work was curtailed and a general talk was given to the children on "How to Help a Pathetic Child." Corinne May stopped crying, and looked up in amazement as though to say, "I can't understand this at all."

One night the teacher asked her to stay after school for a talk. The child screamed and shouted, "Please don't send for my mother. I'll be a dead little girl if you do. My mother will tie me to the bed and beat me, and then you won't have a Corinne May in school tomorrow." The teacher was very much moved by this plea and told the child she had no intention of sending for her mother but wanted to find out why she pinched and kicked some little girl. Corinne May responded she simply did not mean to hurt. She wanted to get some attention and recognition. She told all about her mother, how she has to go to work in a nice lady's house from seven in the morning to seven at night, leaving to her the task of cleaning the house and partially preparing the evening meal. Corinne's father is a common laborer working at whatever kind of work he can get. After a good long chat between Corinne and the teacher they said good night, and the teacher knew they were to become friends.

When she arrived in the Binet class at the age of seven, she was unable to print her name, read, or participate in any of the other activities. She was very restless, sensitive and easily embarrassed. Soon she learned how to print her name, then to write her name, then read two-sound words. The teacher helped to bolster up her satisfaction in achievement, praised the things she did well, being careful not to give approval unless the work warranted it. The teacher was ever on the alert in giving the child tasks not too simple yet never beyond her ability to perform. She was made monitor. This gave her the permission to move around the room in an orderly fashion. As her reading improved she was made an assistant teacher. She helped other children sound out two, three, and four-sound words. This gave her a feeling of security. Her scowls appeared less frequently as her work improved.

Next she had to be taught how to play fair with her classmates. She was a very selfish little girl who wanted the jumping rope or ball all for herself. All of her bad behavior patterns had to be readjusted. Today, she is very much interested in all her classwork and is conscious of a change in her personality make-up. One day, at dismissal time, Corinne went to the teacher and said, "I wish we had school tomorrow. I have nothing to do at home and would like to finish the rug for Joan's nursery."

Corinne May at present has a mental age of six years, nine months; her chronological age is nine years, four months, and her intelligence quotient is 72. She is doing good work, rating second grade in arithmetic, writing, language, and activity. She averaged 2.9 on the Metropolitan and Gray Reading tests. Her change in attitude is the most encouraging factor. She likes to come to school; no longer spits, pinches, curses, or cuts, but is a likable, happy little worker. She is making

steadfast and normal progress in the presented curriculum. Her mother is pleased with her work and states she notes a great change in her behavior. She also states Corinne May likes to read books at home now. Her former teacher of the I-B class heard all about her good work and change in behavior and sent for her. Corinne May asked if she could take her second-grade book to her. She walked upstairs in a courteous, self-assured manner, and read her book fluently. The teacher was so amazed. Were her eyes deceiving her? Her only remark was, "Corinne May, you have become an angel child."

And so on and on through unceasing efforts, attempts at adjusting child after child are carried on by special-class teachers in the Binet Schools of Newark, who believe their work to be the education of the whole child. This is the contribution of the Special Schools to a crime-prevention program. To the special-class teachers statistics are important, but individual children are vastly more important. Figures indicate the size of the problem. In this connection, Dr. Eleanor T. Glueck says of the expectancy of delinquency among these of lower intelligence, that "such expectancy is at least five times as great as for those of higher intelligence."<sup>4</sup> The Special Schools and Classes of Newark have at least got under way a program which will help prevent the mentally retarded child from being started on a delinquent career, and which will help give a child already delinquent the attention and treatment he needs. There is a great deal more to do. What is already being done must be done better. Here and there are teachers who are doing splendid work with badly adjusted children. Many more teachers are needed who are capable of doing good work in adjusting children. More than that, the teachers who are facing the problem of daily handling potentially delinquent and already delinquent children need equipment, material, and understanding support if they are to succeed.

<sup>4</sup> See footnote 1, p. 177.

## Chapter XI

### MONTEFIORE SPECIAL SCHOOL FOR PROBLEM BOYS, CHICAGO

EDWARD H. STULLKEN\*

#### *Principal*

Childhood should be an age of happiness, and yet many children suffer because of factors which tend to make them behavior problems at home, in school, and in their communities. Problems of truancy, incorrigibility, and delinquency are known to the workers in every large school system, and predelinquents and young delinquent children, too often through ignorance or lack of understanding, are destined to discouragement, unhappiness, and failure. Teachers and other school authorities realize the inadequacy of their knowledge and treatment of the behavior of these children, and the public in general is becoming cognizant that juvenile delinquency is costly and wasteful. School surveys indicate that approximately one per cent of the school population are such active problem cases or are so delinquent that they are immediately selected by principals and teachers as being in need of special guidance. Studies of those children who have been judged delinquent by the courts indicate that a large majority have not profited much from the offerings of our schools. It was found, for example, that most of the inmates of the Illinois State Reformatory at Pontiac, Illinois, had not completed the elementary-school courses and a study of juvenile delinquency

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in Chicago and Cook County indicated that parental schools and state reform schools did not reform as often as it had been hoped they would.

The child-study movement and more recently the mental-hygiene movement have done a great deal in giving school authorities a broader viewpoint toward the education of problem children. While a generation ago the child who failed or who became a problem because of his handicaps was eliminated from school, today he has become an object for study rather than the recipient of punishment. The school is more important in the lives of such children than in the lives of ordinary children, as it is not only an educative force but is also often the only agency giving them an opportunity to acquire habits of adjustment to the world in which they live. Too much of our regular education has been concerned with a narrow intellectual development and has failed to take into account the highly individual needs of young delinquents, many of which are not intellectual in nature—such as developing their personalities, increasing their emotional stability, giving them a sense of security.

One of the latest additions to the various services offered by the Chicago Board of Education to care for boys with behavior difficulties is the work of the two Special Schools for truant and problem boys. The first of these, the Montefiore School, was opened in September, 1929, in response to the recommendation of the Superintendent of Schools,<sup>1</sup> for the study and treatment of boys who are unadjusted in regular schools, therefore truant and incorrigible and well started on the road to delinquency.

The psychological study of problem cases and of incipient delinquents in the Montefiore School indicates that many have an intelligence rating which characterizes them as "dull normals" and furthermore their school achievements are very irregular in the various school subjects. The low median intelligence quotient is evidence that the majority are of the intellectually dull types who have gotten little satisfaction from the ordinary school life of a regular elementary or high school. The sense of difference is strong in children and the source of much conflict when the difference is not in their favor. The ordinary classroom is often organized on a competitive basis that cannot give a fair field to the dull or unevenly developed child, and the result is that

<sup>1</sup> William J. Bogan.

he quite logically becomes indifferent or antagonistic to school or develops personality traits that are not conducive to his best adjustment in later life. There should be some success and some feeling of satisfaction in every child's school life, and this is equally important to academic teaching; for without confidence the dull child cannot attain, even to his limited capacity. Mass education today, with its closely graded systems and its overcrowded classrooms, is unable to handle the complex problems leading to a better education of those children who deviate even slightly from the rank and file. Consequently, better provision must be made for caring for individual differences. It is just this which the Montefiore Special School for Problem Boys strives to provide.

Recognizing that possibly no single factor is more important in helping the problem child than the personality who guides him, the Montefiore School has on its staff very carefully selected teachers. School administrators dealing with behavior problem cases too often forget that teachers are human and have personalities quite as definite as children. Nowhere, unless in the home, is the effect of one personality upon another greater than in the schoolroom. Children always learn more by example than by precept. Teachers, who are emotionally unstable, who have frustrated and repressed personalities do an infinite amount of harm. This is especially true when they attempt to mold the lives of youth in order to gain, through the lives of children, desires and satisfactions which they themselves failed to attain. Children must live their own lives rather than compensate for deficiencies in the lives of their elders, either parents or teachers. In the administration of any school, recognition must be given to personalities of both pupils and teachers in the assignment of pupils to various divisions in the school. The psychologist, or whoever makes pupil adjustments, must not hesitate to change a pupil's program as often as necessary in order to secure an adjustment of the pupil's personality to that of the teacher.

A study made by the Montefiore School psychiatrist to determine the factors in the personalities of two teachers having marked success with children with personality difficulties disclosed some interesting facts. By an examination, over a period of two years, of the records of the pupils with whom these two teachers had had marked success the type of boy best adapted to



the personality of each teacher was determined to some degree. The success of one was attributed to the fact that she was always impersonal in any matter relating to herself, but on the other hand very personal in any matter relating to the welfare of the pupil. The other teacher's success was attributed to the fact that he was firm but kindly, and above all continuous, indefatigable, and consistent in his relations with his boys.

In addition to the carefully selected and specially prepared classroom and shop teachers, the Montefiore School has a staff of two doctors, a nurse, a dentist, a psychologist, a psychiatrist, two truant officers, a director of personnel work, who is a professionally trained social worker, a special speech teacher, and a teacher of remedial reading. All the members of the teaching and clinical staff work under the direction of one head, the principal of the school, and try to find out all they can about the needs of the boys enrolled. The Montefiore School is unique in that it combines many of the facilities of a child-guidance clinic with those of a special school. This makes it possible to carry out the diagnosis and treatment of a case simultaneously whenever it is indicated, in a much more satisfactory manner than if clinic and school were far removed from one another.

The School enrolls approximately 500 boys. The age range is from ten to seventeen years. About 65 per cent are transferred to the School because of truancy, 30 per cent because of misbehavior and 5 per cent because of more serious delinquencies. During the six years of the School's existence the median age of all enrolled pupils has ranged from thirteen years nine months to fourteen years three months and the median-grade placement has varied from the sixth grade second month, to the sixth grade seventh month. The median intelligence quotient of all the boys enrolled in the School has varied from 80 to 85; but since many pupils have language and reading disabilities, the proportion of children with higher intelligence would, no doubt, be somewhat greater if strictly nonverbal tests were always employed. Approximately one-half of the pupils enrolled are unable to compete in the ordinary type of intellectual work required in a regular school. The average retardation in school work is approximately two and one-half years.

Many of the cases are of boys whose mental abilities and educational achievements are very irregular. The reading

ability of approximately 12 per cent of the boys enrolled is three or more years below other school subjects and sometimes mechanical ability is accelerated equally as much. Such boys are bound to find school life unbearable when compelled to sit in a single-grade room of the regular school with children of other ages and social abilities. Many of the boys are problems, no doubt, because of their physical handicaps. Doctors' examinations have revealed that the typical Montefiore boy suffers from an average of four physical defects and in 93 per cent of the cases is in need of dental attention.

Most of the boys enrolled live in the deteriorating areas of the city and present problems arising from their social surroundings. Many of these come from foreign-language-speaking homes. Polish, Italian, and Negro make up 60 per cent of all boys enrolled. Many come from broken homes. The director of personnel work found last year in a survey of 625 homes that 80 per cent of these were on relief, that 53 per cent were families known to the Juvenile Court, that 96 per cent were families known to some social agency, and that frequent changes of schools, both public and parochial, were the rule rather than the exception.

A total of 235 public elementary and many private schools send boys to the Montefiore School. The boys are enrolled in the Montefiore School by transfer from the regular schools and are not committed by court action, as it is the intention to keep boys out of court if possible. The transfers are requested usually by the teachers and principals of the regular schools and, if approved by school authorities, they are arranged through the Bureau of Compulsory Education. Boys are in school at the Montefiore for 6½ hours daily, 5 days a week, for 48 weeks in the year. The Board of Education provides the carfare for transportation of all boys living more than a mile from the School. They are expected to provide their own noonday lunches, but many who are unable to do so receive free lunches from the School.

Upon entrance a boy is interviewed by one of the social workers and is then placed in a receiving room where he remains for a week or ten days during which time he is given complete physical and psychological examinations and is observed by the teacher in charge of the room. The receiving-room teacher also gives a battery of achievement tests in order to determine his

proper grade placement. These tests also reveal any peculiarities in his educational abilities and often must be supplemented by diagnostic reading and arithmetic tests in order to disclose reading and other disabilities. As soon as possible the boy is placed in one of the division groups of the School in which he seems to fit best. The division groups in the Montefiore School may be considered ungraded as far as regular school-grade placement is concerned, but the boys are usually quite homogeneously grouped. The factors considered in the boy's placement are his educational, mental, social, physical, and chronological age; his aptitudes and interests; his disabilities; and his personality traits. The placement of the boy is made by the psychologist in conference with the receiving-room teacher, and one or both discuss the matter with the boy and his own suggestions are always considered and often tried. The placement is not final, the grading is very elastic, and changes are made whenever it seems advisable.

The work of the School is roughly divided into three parts, the boys spending approximately three-eighths of their time in academic work, four-eighths in activities of various kinds, and one-eighth in organized recreational groups. All the boys spend approximately three-eighths of their time with some one particular teacher who guides them in the academic work consisting of mathematics, English, social studies, and so on. These academic rooms are fitted with either 20 or 25 pedestal desks and in addition are equipped with tables, chairs, filing cabinets, and other materials, permitting a maximum amount of freedom and activity in the academic work.

The boys spend the rest of their time in various activities, depending upon their individual aptitudes and capacities for the different types of work offered. An electric and metal shop equipped with machine lathes, motor generator, drill press, grinder, sheet-metal work benches, gas and electric furnaces are found to interest boys who have marked mechanical ability. There are two woodshops equipped with work benches, lathes, grinders, band saw, jointer. A fourth shop is equipped to do household-mechanics work, and in it everything from shoe repairing to bookbinding is done. Three general-science laboratories equipped with aquariums, germinating tables, demonstration tables, and necessary apparatus are provided. One room is

fitted up as a mechanical-drawing room and another is used for freehand drawing and art purposes. A room equipped as a studio is used in connection with the work in art. For those boys having less mechanical ability than some of the others, a reed-and rug-weaving laboratory is provided. This room is equipped with work benches, looms, small hand looms, lockers, and other necessary materials for carrying on small hand activities.

The School is provided with a library and it cooperates with the Chicago Public Library, which furnishes approximately 1,000 books in addition to those owned by the School for the use of the Montefiore boys. Every boy is permitted two forty-minute periods per week in the library, reading under the direction of the teacher in charge. A close check upon the reading habits and reading abilities of the boys is kept by the instructor. A small auditorium seating 285 pupils is used as a music and dramatic room. The teacher attempts to teach musical expression as well as music appreciation. This auditorium is also used for assembly purposes.

The School is provided with a cafeteria and lunchroom where food is served at cost. All of the boys are required to eat in the School dining room whether they bring their food from home or purchase it in the cafeteria. Correct eating habits and dining-room decorum are made a part of the instructional work of the School. Two classes of boys are used in the lunchroom and cafeteria to assist in preparing the meals and in cleaning up and washing dishes.

The School has a fully equipped dentist's office, the room and equipment having been furnished by the Board of Education. A doctor's office and a psychiatrist's office are also furnished. Through the cooperation of the Department of Health a full-time dentist is available who does both corrective and educational work. In the same manner the Department of Health cooperates in furnishing a doctor and a nurse. The doctor gives every boy a thorough physical examination and in cooperation with the nurse and teacher attempts to secure as many physical corrections as possible. The School is also equipped with a bathroom providing showers and basins for the use of the boys. An attendant is in charge at all times and approximately fifty full baths are given daily. This feature of the work helps the School in its program of teaching cleanliness.

During the first year psychiatric services were secured from outside agencies, but since September, 1930, the Board of Education has furnished a psychiatrist part time. In addition the Institute for Juvenile Research, the Mandel Clinic of the Michael Reese Hospital, the Bobs Roberts Memorial Hospital for Children, the Clinic of the Children's Memorial Hospital and the North Side Child Guidance Clinic have furnished psychiatric services for such cases as were known to them.

The services of visiting teachers who were formerly assigned to the School to do the social work have been discontinued. Such services are indispensable in properly caring for truant and behavior-problem boys and should be restored as rapidly as possible. There is no adequate substitute for the services of the professionally trained social worker. During the past two years the Montefiore School has had these services performed by one of the regularly assigned teachers who has had visiting-teacher experience and the necessary professional training.

The School has two full-time truant officers assigned by the Department of Compulsory Education of the Board of Education. These officers work on the basis of removing the causes for truancy and in that way secure the regular attendance of boys who were formerly habitual truants.

The School has cooperated with the Institute for Juvenile Research in doing special work with boys who have distinct reading disabilities. A special teacher devotes her full time to this work. About 25 per cent of all the boys who enter the Montefiore School have some reading disability. During the past year approximately 125 boys were enrolled in the various reading classes. It was found necessary to divide this number into small groups in order that each boy might get full benefit from the remedial work. The size of the groups varied from five to twelve pupils each. In the smaller groups were placed the nonreaders and those of first-grade ability. In the larger groups were the pupils who had a minor reading difficulty. Members of each group were selected because of similarity of types of errors.

Each boy is given a very complete test before being enrolled in a remedial reading class, and at intervals during the year a retest is given to determine the progress made. These tests include the Gray's Oral, Haggerty, Stanford, and Monroe reading tests, the Detroit Word Test and Word Discrimination Test.

The results of these tests are used as a basis for assignment to remedial groups. That the work in remedial reading is effective is shown by the reports of the psychologist for the past five years which reveal that on an average boys make about three months' progress in reading for every month spent in a remedial reading class.

A psychologist has charge of the placement of all pupils in the School as well as of making survey tests in the regular academic rooms. Every special case is also tested with an individual Binet. The psychologist determines the mental equipment, detects any mental handicap, and attempts to discover the special aptitudes of each boy so that he may be most advantageously placed in the various types of work offered by the School.

The Board of Education through the Division of Special Education also furnishes a special speech teacher upon a part-time basis. During the past year a total of 45 cases received special help.

The office work is in charge of two school clerks; one cares for all records and reports, the other is a stenographer. As a result of the work of teachers, social workers, truant officers, psychologist, doctors, and others, a full case history is prepared for every boy enrolled.

One of the best of the special features of the Montefiore School is the work of two recreation leaders furnished by the Board of Education, who spend all of their time in teaching the various groups of boys how to play and to get along together. This work proved so valuable during the first year the School was in operation that a second playroom equipped with games invented and made by the teachers and pupils was opened in February, 1931. This room has quite the air of a boys' clubroom. It certainly shows the value of giving the problem boy experience in playing with other boys.

The boys have a share in the administration of the School through the activities of student groups. During the past year various groups have acted as office boys, filing clerks, messengers, safety-patrol squads, special monitors. The lunchroom has also been partially supervised with student help.

During the past year the Central Lions Club of Chicago has cooperated very closely with the Montefiore School in an attempt

to help the boys. Every month a group of four youngsters, who have been good school citizens, have been entertained at the regular luncheon meeting of the club. The club has also helped entertain the boys at Christmas time.

The question of the wisdom of segregating problem boys in a special school is often raised by educators and social workers. The experience of the Montefiore School indicates that it can be done with very little, if any, stigma being attached to the transfer of a boy from a regular school to a special school. The theory and practice in the Montefiore School has been that boys are not transferred to it for punishment but that they might have opportunities for adjustment which the city cannot afford to provide in every school. The *esprit de corps* both among the teachers and the pupils of the School usually removes any stigma which the individual boy may feel when he first enrolls; and not infrequently boys ask that their younger brothers and friends be given transfers to the Special School in order to be able to share in the opportunities offered. The question of stigma has been so far removed that parents of boys who have graduated from the Montefiore eighth grade have insisted that school authorities introduce ninth-grade work in order that their sons may remain in the School. This was done during the past year.

The advantages of grouping problem boys are many; for example, it is possible to offer clinical services in connection with the School, which could not be done in all regular schools; it is also possible to offer many special subjects and special shop courses of particular interest to adolescent boys. Furthermore, smaller groups, continuous programing of boys' classes, special remedial teachers and greater individual attention to variations in the boys' intellectual and emotional make-up may be obtained more easily in a special school. Traveling long distances to reach the Montefiore is often considered a privilege by the boy and is a factor in making the School attractive to him.

The following are summaries of cases that are typical of the work done with young predelinquent and delinquent boys at the Montefiore Special School:

*Case I.* T., aged twelve, was transferred to the Montefiore School because of truancy. This boy had never been truant before but sud-

denly refused to attend school because the boys called him "sissy." His father was dead and the family was supported by the Mother's Pension Fund. The family consisted of three children. T. was the second child and only boy. He was described by the pension officer as the "only bright member of his family."

On examination by the doctor T. was found to be underdeveloped and of feminine type. The conflict at school had been related to his peculiar physical type. He had considered himself a little superior in his family and also in the neighborhood, as they were one of the few English-speaking families there. Doubt of his superiority had been proportionately hard for him.

During the first weeks at the Montefiore School a regular program was not asked of him, but he was given the work of helping in the office where he had more personal attention and his self-esteem was reestablished. With the same end in view much was made of his good soprano voice. He was gradually introduced into schoolroom routine and he fitted in well. He was sent to summer camp for a two weeks' vacation and he got on well with other boys. During his second year in the Montefiore School he had occasion to sing over the radio in a school program. He made appreciable gains both physically and socially. His mother moved out of the foreign neighborhood and went to live with a sister in a good American section of the city. T. was transferred to a school in this new neighborhood and he has made an excellent adjustment there.

*Case II.* F. was a well-developed boy of fourteen who was usually described by his companions as handsome. His parents were born in Italy. His father was an unskilled laborer. There were three children in the family, all boys, J. twenty-three, R. seventeen, and F. fourteen. They owned a two-tenement building which was heavily mortgaged. No member of the family was employed regularly and they were momentarily expecting foreclosure. Family affection and loyalties were strong.

F. was transferred to the Montefiore School early in the fall of 1934 with a grade placement of 6 B. The transfer blank described the boy as "lazy," "unmanageable," "beyond the control of his parents," "possible mental case." The reason for transfer as given by the boy himself was "I couldn't get along with that teacher. My brother got into trouble with her and when I got into her room, she began on me—thought if she would send me to the office often enough the principal would get tired of me."

F. was given a physical examination and the findings were negative. The psychological findings were quite otherwise:

Stanford Revision-Binet Simon Test, C.A., 14-4; M.A., 13-5; I.Q., 94.



## Stanford Achievement Tests

Reading (paragraph meaning).....	10 yr. 6 mo.
Reading (word meaning).....	9 yr. 11 mo.
Spelling.....	9 yr. 1 mo.
Language usage.....	10 yr. 0 mo.
History and civics.....	9 yr. 7 mo.
Geography.....	11 yr. 6 mo.
Arithmetic reasoning.....	11 yr. 6 mo.
Arithmetic computation.....	11 yr. 7 mo.
Median achievement age.....	10 yr. 6 mo.
Median grade.....	IV.5

## Stenquist Mechanical Achievement Test, 28 yr.

These tests showed that F. was doing work far below his mental capacity as his educational age was almost three years below his mental age.

Because of his high score in mechanical aptitude and his interest in machinery, F. was placed in the electric shop as his home room. He was given a special academic program with remedial reading. He was encouraged to bring his educational achievements up to his mental capacity. His self-feeling and sense of justice apparently were satisfied and he gave no further difficulties in school. He was graduated from the eighth grade in August, 1935, and has returned to the Montefiore School for further work in the electric shop. He plans to leave school when he is of legal age to work to help the family.

*Case III.* R. was transferred to Montefiore on the opening of the School. He had been in a special center prior to this time because of incorrigibility in the classroom. He was the youngest of ten children of Scotch-German parentage. His home life was that of a noisy, affectionate, overcrowded household. The father had worked at the same job for many years. The adult siblings, though they had made poor scholarship records, all showed an adequate sense of social responsibility and unusual stability in industry.

Inquiry into the boy's habits outside of school showed that he had no friends but spent his time attending movies five to six times a week. It was noted that he got on well with adults. He read the newspapers regularly and had a good fund of current information.

His chief difficulty as revealed when he enrolled was his inability to get on with other boys. There was continual violent quarreling with them and complaint that they were always picking on him. The general opinion of his teachers and classmates was that he was "queer" or "psychopathic." On one occasion when he was irritated beyond

endurance by another boy, he attempted to jump out of a second-story window. A psychiatric examination was then arranged.

The psychological examination showed an I.Q. of 77, but the psychiatrist's report was to the effect that the boy was probably "more goofy than dull" and advised that he be taken out of the classroom and be kept busy with extra-curricular duties. He was made messenger and clerk for the school dentist and he showed himself a faithful, accurate, tireless worker. His outbursts of temper and general irritability gradually lessened. After a year's time on this job, R. requested that he be returned to the classroom, as he wished to graduate from the eighth grade. His industry in the classroom was outstanding and four years after entering the School he was graduated. In this case the School treated his "goofiness" and the "dullness" took care of itself.

*Case IV.* J. was an unkempt, undernourished boy thirteen years of age and in the fifth grade when he enrolled in the Montefiore School. An accident when he was four years old had resulted in the loss of an eye. An irritating, ill-fitting, artificial eye with constant discharge added to his distressed appearance. He was the youngest of nine children of Polish parents. His mother had been dead four years. Six of the children were of adult age and were married. The two just older had been placed by the Juvenile Court because of delinquency. J. was the only child who remained in the home with the father who was a hard drinker and abusive when drinking. They lived in a very poor neighborhood and J. had formed most unfavorable friendships with delinquent boys. He had become a truant from school, for which he had been demoted several times.

The psychological tests showed his chronological age to be 13-1; his mental age, 13-5; his intelligence quotient, 103; median grade, VI.3. J. was placed in a room with sixth- and seventh-grade boys, as his mentality indicated he could do seventh-grade work if given special attention in arithmetic. He continued to play truant and would not cooperate in any plan made for his physical care. The School was ready to file a Parental School petition when his father died of alcoholism. Soon after that J. became seriously ill with rheumatic fever and spent three months in the hospital. The hospital, court, and school planned together for foster-home placement when an older brother who had been found to be stable and dependable asked to be allowed to take him into his home. This has proved to be a very satisfactory plan, as J. has a place in the family and is given certain responsibilities. The School secured a new glass eye and glasses through a charitable agency. He attended school regularly and was most meticulous in keeping appointments with the oculist. He was sent to a camp for undernourished boys for six weeks and returned in excellent physical condition.

J. has become a self-respecting, dependable boy and was graduated from the eighth grade. He entered high school in September and is making an excellent record.

The results of six years work in the Montefiore School seem to indicate that special educational facilities will to some extent help solve the problem of preventing juvenile delinquency. Reports of the Superintendent of Compulsory Education for the years 1926 to 1929 indicate that approximately 400 boys were prosecuted annually for those years in the Cook County Juvenile Court on Parental School petitions received from the area served by the Montefiore School. Since the establishment of the School this number has been reduced to an average of 126 boys per year for the past six years, and during the last year this number was only 33.

The Montefiore School works in close cooperation with the judge, probation officers and other workers of the Juvenile Court. All of the court work for the 235 schools in the Montefiore district is centralized and cleared through the Montefiore School. One very beneficial result obtained is that principals, teachers, and truant officers from the regular schools are relieved of all court work. The teachers, social workers, psychologist, truant officers, and others associated with the School have cooperated with the court, its probation officers and other workers. Case histories are exchanged between workers of the School and the Court, and numerous conferences between probation officers, court officials, and principal and teachers help to adjust boys in school and home.

Every case taken into court is fully investigated and a complete case history is prepared for the use of the court. This case history contains a record of the personal history, the social and family history in addition to school records, psychological and medical findings. Every history attempts to present to the court a complete picture of the boy in all of his school and out-of-school contacts. These histories are available for the use of the court before the case is heard, so that, if the judge desires, he may acquaint himself with all of its details. They are also available for the use of any institution or school to which the boys may be transferred.

During the past two years twelve formal conferences and several informal meetings have been conducted to help adjust

boys without court action. These conferences are held under the direction of the superintendent of schools or his assistant, and are always attended by the principal and other workers of the Montefiore School. At these conferences the boy's record is thoroughly investigated, including consideration of social history, school record, psychological examinations, and any other pertinent facts. The boy's parents and he himself are also interviewed. Recommendations in regard to changes in the school program, recreational or work program, are made and later followed by the Special School. The results of these conferences have helped reduce the number of boys taken into the Juvenile Court during the past two years.

Another measurable result of the value of the Special School for Problem Boys is found in the fact that while previous to the opening of the Montefiore School there was a waiting list of from 100 to 200 boys to be taken to the Juvenile Court, there is now no waiting list. Also, formerly a boy who violated his parole from the Parental School was out for weeks or months, usually on the street, before he could be returned. There is now no waiting list of violators of parole from the Parental School.

It is also significant that the attendance of the boys enrolled in the School has been only slightly less than that of pupils enrolled in the regular schools. The average yearly per cent of attendance in the Montefiore School for the past five years has varied from 89 per cent to 93 per cent in spite of the fact that 60 per cent of those enrolled had been sent to the Special School because of habitual truancy, and many had attended the regular schools for only half or even less than half of the school year.

Out of a total of 852 boys enrolled during the past year less than 20 per cent were taken into court for any reason whatsoever. A total of 252 boys have been returned to the regular schools, and of this number only 38 had to be returned to the Montefiore School because of their failure to adjust. This small number of failures seems to show that the Special School is really able to change the attitude of the boys and prepare them to fit well into the program of the regular schools.

During the six years of the School's existence 657 boys have graduated from the eighth grade and these boys have gone out into the world with a feeling of success instead of a sense of failure.

At the present writing a study is being made by a graduate student of one of the local universities to determine the value of the Montefiore School in preventing the development of delinquency. The study includes boys formerly enrolled in the School. On the basis of this study, not yet completed, it has already been found that out of 844 boys who had been enrolled in the Montefiore School for a period of one or two or three years and had been out of the School two, three, or four years, approximately 1.5 per cent are now in institutions for mental defectives, 1.2 per cent are deceased, 12 per cent are in some type of penal institution, 13 per cent are in the federal civilian conservation corps, 32 per cent are regularly employed and doing satisfactorily, 40 per cent are at home, mostly unemployed, and a few are still in school but no complaints have been registered against them.

Any final judgment of the effectiveness of the Montefiore Special School for problem boys in reducing delinquency must await further study. Regardless of the ultimate results, the fact remains that during the past six years more than 2,000 problem boys have been more happily adjusted in the Special School than in the regular schools and are better equipped to face the realities of life than when they were transferred to the School.

The costs of this special treatment and training of problem boys are necessarily higher than those for the education of regular-class pupils, but these additional costs are easily justified even by the results thus far achieved.

**PART III**  
**POLICE PROGRAMS**



## Chapter XII

### THE CRIME PREVENTION BUREAU OF THE NEW YORK CITY POLICE DEPARTMENT\*

HENRIETTA ADDITON†

*Formerly Deputy Police Commissioner in Charge of the Crime  
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In the fall of 1929 the Police Commissioner of New York City<sup>1</sup> appointed an Advisory Committee on Crime Prevention, composed of 16 prominent citizens and leaders in social welfare. He was influenced to do this largely as a result of the conclusions reached in the studies of the Crime Commission of New York State. Its reports, as was also true of other studies of crime being made in various parts of the country, emphasized the fact that the majority of professional criminals begin their antisocial careers in childhood and that the prevention of juvenile delinquency is the most important step toward crime prevention. The Advisory Committee, after an examination of the social

\* This article is written in the past tense because the program of the Bureau of Crime Prevention as originally conceived and organized is not being carried forward by the present administration. The bureau, now designated The Bureau of Juvenile Aid, is being reorganized under a new director. The program and procedures of the new bureau are not yet completely defined.—EDITORS' NOTE.

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<sup>1</sup> Grover Whalen.



machinery existing in New York City for the care of delinquents and for the prevention of delinquency, recommended the establishment of a crime-prevention bureau in the Police Department as the arm of the government most responsible not only for the apprehension and conviction of criminals, but also for the prevention of crime. It was recognized that the modern police department's responsibility does not end with shooting down gangsters or even bringing them before the courts. The early histories of many of the most notorious are pathetic stories of children who became delinquent in the course of their natural development.

When the police are alert and intelligently concerned to find and eradicate the influences in the community largely responsible for creating young delinquents and future gangsters, they are in a strategic position, given the proper personnel, to put into actual operation effective programs of prevention. The Police Commissioner at that time was not only concerned because of the extent of crime among youth in New York, but, with an intelligence that is rare among public officials, asked and took the recommendations of those who had had years of experience in work with juveniles. In January, 1930, the Crime Prevention Bureau was set up on an experimental basis in the New York City Police Department, largely in accord with the recommendations of the Advisory Committee.

Offices were opened at police headquarters. The patrolwomen and a small number of policemen already in the Department were detailed to the Bureau as crime-prevention officers. A woman who had had long experience in the field of social work was lent by<sup>2</sup> her agency to act as Director during the period of organization. A civil-service examination was held for the position of Crime Prevention Investigator, and in the spring of 1930 twenty-five experienced trained social workers were appointed crime-prevention officers.

During the summer several administrative changes, including the resignation of the police commissioner, occurred in the Police Department, and for a period the fate of the newly formed experiment was uncertain. The civic groups interested soon found that the new Police Commissioner,<sup>3</sup> a man who had spent

<sup>2</sup> Miss Virginia Murray of the Travelers' Aid Society.

<sup>3</sup> Edward P. Mulrooney.

his life in the department, was quick to see the Bureau's potential value. He strengthened his Advisory Committee, appointing as its chairman one of the most distinguished lawyers in the country, and secured a new director to take the place of the former one who had returned to the agency which had loaned her services.

Throughout the initial period the Police Commissioner himself kept closely in touch with organization details. An able administrator, the support which he gave the Bureau was largely responsible for its success and for the fact that it was soon accepted as an integral part of the Police Department. On June 16, 1931, the Crime Prevention Bureau was made a permanent part of the Police Department by an amendment to the Greater New York Charter. Representatives from the League of Women Voters, the Men's and Women's City Clubs, many other civic organizations, and practically every accredited social agency in the city urged the passage of this amendment. So many organizations and individuals of this high type have rarely given such backing to any public department. While the mayor<sup>4</sup> was doubtless impressed by this support, his decision to introduce the amendment himself was due, as he said, to the fact that "a hard-boiled cop" who had had the experience of the man who was then Police Commissioner believed in it.

The report of the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, published a few days after the passage of this amendment, stated:

No city of considerable size can afford to be without a unit which will devote its whole time to crime prevention. Such a unit must receive official recognition in large enough measure to command respect from the members of the force and other community agencies. . . . Concentration upon the detection of criminals and the investigation of crimes have absorbed the time of most police departments to the exclusion of any thought of crime prevention. The mouth of the river of crime has been patrolled with varying degrees of success while the source has been allowed to have its way. Even where some thought has been given to the source it has been haphazard and often of such a nature as to jeopardize the dignity of the movement in its infancy. . . . Perhaps no position in the police department requires more careful training and judgment to meet the practical routine problems. The psychological and sociological questions which are encountered challenge the utmost

<sup>4</sup> James J. Walker.

that is in the best prepared worker; in no place can the opportunity to serve be more easily and disastrously squandered. . . . The choice of employees for this service should naturally receive the most careful consideration. No element of political influence should ever enter into their selection; a definite professional standard should be striven for and maintained and merit alone considered.

In the organization of the New York City Crime Prevention Bureau the highest advocated standards were met. The amendment providing for the establishment of the Bureau read:

There shall be a bureau in the Police Department to be known as the Crime Prevention Bureau, to be organized and maintained for the prevention of crime and delinquency among minors and for the performance of such other duties as the Commissioner of Police may assign thereto. The said bureau shall be in charge of a deputy police commissioner to be designated by the commissioner.

Following the passage of this amendment, the director of the Bureau was appointed Deputy Police Commissioner and continued in charge. This official had all the powers of every other deputy, to suspend any policeman in the entire Police Department, to conduct disciplinary trials of policeman, and so on. A deputy commissioner is superior in rank to every line officer in the department. This gave the Crime Prevention Bureau prestige, which, combined with the Police Commissioner's wholehearted support, made it accepted as an integral part of the Police Department by the entire force. By the end of the year 1931, the personnel of the Bureau included, in addition to the Deputy Police Commissioner, an inspector assigned as her assistant, a supervisor, 25 Crime Prevention Investigators (women), 44 patrolwomen and policewomen, 130 policemen (lieutenants, sergeants, and patrolmen), and 8 stenographers. The organization of the Bureau was outlined as follows in the Manual of Procedure of the Police Department:<sup>5</sup>

1. The Bureau of Crime Prevention shall be maintained for the purpose of: (a) Carrying on a broad program for the reduction of delinquency in New York City; (b) Helping put into operation measures for the rehabilitation of juvenile delinquents and wayward minors.

2. A central office will be located in Police Headquarters, Manhattan. This office will consist of:

<sup>5</sup> Article XLIII.

- a. The executive staff.
- b. Registry and record room.
- c. Central office clerical force.
- d. Designated officers and investigators.

3. Special sub-divisions to be known as district units will be established and maintained in selected precincts when the good of the service demands.

4. The chief executive officer of the Bureau of Crime Prevention shall be the Director<sup>6</sup> who shall be directly responsible to the Police Commissioner. It will be the duty of the Director, subject to the approval of the Police Commissioner, to define the program of the Bureau and to draft rules and regulations for the guidance of its members, to promote the morale of the staff and to assist in the development of cooperative relationships between the Bureau of Crime Prevention and the public and private social agencies of the City of New York.

5. A member of the Uniformed Force shall be assigned by the Police Commissioner as Executive Officer of the Bureau of Crime Prevention. It shall be the duty of the Executive Officer to supervise the work of male members of the Bureau, to stimulate interest in crime prevention work throughout the Uniformed Force, and to assist the Director.

6. A Supervisor appointed by the Police Commissioner, will be assigned to assist the Director in carrying out such administrative functions as may be assigned.

7. A central Registry and Record Room shall be maintained to serve as a clearing house for the work of the Bureau. Case records shall be kept and a central card index file maintained, so that both closed and active cases may be immediately located and periodical reports and statistical analyses accurately compiled. Necessary personnel may be assigned from either the uniformed or civilian staff of the Bureau. A qualified member of the Bureau will be assigned to have direct supervision of this unit.

8. A clerical force shall be maintained at the central office to carry on the routine clerical work and to render necessary stenographic assistance to members of the Headquarters staff.

9. Crime Prevention Investigators and members of the Uniformed Force attached to the Bureau may be assigned at the Central Office in sufficient numbers to cover territory not within the jurisdiction of any unit and to handle emergency cases requiring immediate attention. Lieutenants assigned to the Bureau of Crime Prevention may be detailed to investigate applicants for the position of patrolman, to serve legal subpoenas emanating from the Bureau of Disciplinary Records and to perform other special duties.

<sup>6</sup> Later Deputy Police Commissioner.

10. The following records and files shall be maintained in the Central Office.

Records:

Blotter

Diary

Communication Record

Information book

Monthly reports of volume of work

Telephone record

Telephone typewriter record

General and Special Orders and Circulars

Files:

1. To and from Police Commissioner
2. To and from Deputy Police Commissioners
3. To and from Chief Inspector
4. To and from Chief Clerk
5. To and from other Commands
6. To and from other Departments
7. To and from Bureau of Crime Prevention Units
8. Outside correspondence
9. Requisitions and invoices
10. Expense vouchers
11. Morning reports
12. Daily time reports
  - Statement of lost time
13. Affidavits
14. Leave of absence applications
  - Case records of closed cases
  - Records of investigation of conditions.

The following files shall be maintained in steel drawers:

Force records

Qualification record

Time record

Individual disciplinary record

Card index file of all closed and active cases

Social resource file

Index to candidates for patrolmen

Index to candidates for bedmakers

Arrest cards for juvenile delinquents and wayward minors arrested in all precincts

Arrest cards for juvenile delinquents and wayward minors arrested by Bureau of Crime Prevention.

11. The Bureau shall set up district sub-divisions in such territory as may be designated from time to time. Crime Prevention Investigators

and members of the Uniformed Force may be detailed to these subdivisions or units. A qualified member of the unit staff shall have direct supervision. Stenographic assistance shall be provided so that the staff need not spend time on record keeping and clerical duties at the expense of field activity. The following records and files shall be maintained in the unit offices:

- Communications Record
- Diary
- Information book
- Card index file of all cases
- Open case record
- Licensed premises file
- Telephone typewriter record
- General and Special Orders and Circulars
- Social Resource file.

12. Complaints or cases to be handled by the Bureau of Crime Prevention, when received by desk officers of precincts, will be reported to the proper unit for investigation and action.

District subdivisions or Crime Prevention Units were set up in ten police-precinct offices, each one of these covering a number of other precincts. The plan was to extend each one of these units until there was one in each of the sixteen Inspection Divisions, but adequate trained service to give the supervision necessary was never provided for the Bureau. In each unit a police lieutenant was designated as in "command" and he had charge of matters of police discipline. However, a Crime Prevention Investigator called "supervisor" but with no special civil-service designation, was put in charge of the supervision of cases and in most instances actually ran the unit.

The duties of the Crime Prevention Bureau as outlined in the Manual of Police were as follows:

The Crime Prevention Bureau shall be responsible for: (a) planning and putting into operation of measures for the prevention of delinquency in New York City; (b) helping to secure adequate social treatment for juvenile delinquents and wayward minors.<sup>7</sup> Conditions which might serve as a contributing cause of juvenile delinquency such as improperly supervised dance halls and cabarets, pool and billiard parlors, common shows and motion picture houses, gambling centers, places where obscene literature or pictures are displayed, and places where the morals of minors are likely to be corrupted, etc. especially in localities where the

<sup>7</sup> Article XLIII, Sec. 14.

delinquency rate is high, shall be kept under observation and reported, and action shall be taken to eradicate such breeding spots of delinquency.<sup>8</sup> Systematic patrol and investigation shall be carried on to discover individuals contributing to the delinquency of minors, and appropriate action shall be taken against such individuals.<sup>9</sup> All juveniles accused of offenses brought to the attention of the police, where no arrests are made, will be reported to the Crime Prevention Bureau for appropriate action.<sup>10</sup> All wayward minors brought to the attention of the police shall be referred immediately to the Crime Prevention Bureau.<sup>11</sup> Information concerning constructive community influences shall be gathered and kept on file in the various units of the Crime Prevention Bureau. Especial note shall be made of neighborhood resources of use in social treatment including family and children's agencies, recreational facilities, schools, churches, and the various municipal agencies, such as the courts and probation departments, and the Departments of Correction, Health, and Public Welfare.<sup>12</sup> The Crime Prevention Bureau shall seek to instill in boys and girls a respect for law and an appreciation of good citizenship and shall, through its activities, assist the patrolmen in bringing about an increasing friendly relationship between the Police Department and the youth of New York City so that more and more the police will be looked upon as a protective rather than a merely repressive agency.<sup>13</sup> Reports shall be published by the Crime Prevention Bureau showing the scope and volume of its work and the nature and cause of the delinquency and crime found in the cases coming to its attention. These reports shall also contain information which will be useful both in the development of plans for the prevention of delinquency and in the stimulation of public interest in the subject.<sup>14</sup>

The Crime Prevention Bureau was primarily concerned with (1) helping to secure more adequate social treatment for individual juvenile delinquents and wayward minors, (2) finding and removing community conditions which make for crime, (3) building up constructive forces for the prevention of crime, (4) developing a different attitude on the part of youth toward the law and law-enforcing agencies.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. 15.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. 16.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. 17.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. 18.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. 19.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. 20.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. 21.

From the Annual Report of the Crime Prevention Bureau for 1932 we see that during 1932, for example, there were 13,139 cases under the care of the Bureau.<sup>15</sup>

VOLUME OF WORK OF NEW YORK CRIME PREVENTION BUREAU	
Cases continued from December 31, 1931.....	2,748
Cases of social treatment—minors reported to the Crime Prevention Bureau requiring outside investigation.....	4,894
Under 16 years of age.....	2,911
Over 16 years of age.....	1,983
Cases of violation of specified laws involving minors.....	158
Other service cases—Investigations of group offenses, where individual cases were not made, destitution and unemployment, investigations for out of town agencies, arrest, escort, etc.....	579
Advice cases—Cases not requiring outside investigations.....	4,760
Under 16 years of age.....	3,036
16 to 21 years.....	757
Over 21 years of age.....	967

In addition to the 4,760 new cases classified as Advice Cases, the Bureau accepted during the year 5,631 new cases. These are classified as Cases of Social Treatment, 4,894; Violations of Specified Laws, 158; and Other Service Cases, 579. They came from the following sources:<sup>16</sup>

Personal Application.....	109
Parents and Relatives.....	979
Individuals.....	482
Crime Prevention Officers' Patrol.....	404
Police.....	1,576
Schools.....	725
Social Agencies and Courts.....	676
Other Sources.....	680
Total.....	5,631

From the above it is seen that during 1932 the Bureau provided social treatment for 4,894 new cases of minors. The age, sex, and type of offense for these minors appear in the following tables:

In their effort to secure more adequate social treatment for individual juvenile delinquents and wayward minors, the crime-prevention officers' aim was to serve as a link between the child in difficulty and the social resources of the community. Adjustments were sought in accordance with conditions and needs



TYPE OF OFFENSES REPORTED<sup>17</sup> FOR CASES OF SOCIAL TREATMENT  
AGE-SEX-ALL BOROUGHES

	Male		Female	
	Over 16	Under 16	Over 16	Under 16
Automobile stealing.....	32	27	.....	...
Burglary or unlawful entry.....	23	169	4	6
Disorderly conduct (not sex offenses)....	64	232	14	35
Embezzlement and fraud.....	7	2	1	...
Forgery and counterfeiting.....	...	1	.....	...
Gambling.....	7	.....	.....	...
Homicide.....	...	.....	.....	...
Injury to person.....	16	70	2	3
Incorrigibility—wayward minor.....	319	283	594	263
Larceny.....	103	795	88	171
Malicious mischief.....	29	381	.....	10
Robbery and hold-up.....	11	14	2	...
Running away.....	44	69	143	56
Sex offenses.....	23	64	108	55
Truancy from school.....	...	1	1	1
Unmarried mothers.....	...	.....	68	6
Violation of drug laws.....	...	.....	1	...
Violation of labor laws.....	3	82	1	15
Violation of liquor laws.....	...	.....	2	...
Violation of traffic laws.....	1	.....	.....	...
Minors needing special aid.....	75	37	153	25
Miscellaneous other offenses.....	15	24	29	14
	772	2,251	1,211	660

found in each situation. Hospitals, clinics, and sometimes private physicians were used for physical and mental diagnosis and treatment. There was close cooperation with the schools from the very beginning, particularly with the Bureau of Attendance, the ungraded classes and the continuation schools. Principals and teachers called on the Crime Prevention Bureau for help with difficult children in an effort to avoid court action when advisable and the Bureau of Child Guidance of the Board of Education examined and provided intensive treatment for certain children under the care of the Crime Prevention Bureau.

The relations of the Crime Prevention Bureau to various groups in the community, such as schools and social agencies, may be described as being very similar to those of the usual family agency. The executive (Deputy Commissioner) or someone designated by her maintained contacts on questions of policy. The crime-prevention investigator assigned as supervisor usually represented the unit at district meetings. In general when a representative of the school or social agency wished to discuss a case before referring it, the worker who would eventually handle it would be sent. Various members of the staff were designated to represent the Bureau on special committees. One worker was assigned as liaison officer between the Crime Prevention Bureau and the Bureau of Child Guidance of the Board of Education, in order to aid in developing sound working relationships. She not only supervised the preparation of the crime-prevention officers' reports, which were presented to the child-guidance psychiatrist, but she sat in at clinic hearings and was effective in interpreting aims and procedures to the crime-prevention staff.

For the boys and girls over school age, suitable jobs were found where possible and in many cases opportunities for further education and training had been secured. Every effort was made to reestablish religious connections and to interest the clergy in individual problem children of their parishes. In cases where it was for the best interest of the child or the community, minors coming to the attention of the Crime Prevention Bureau were brought to court. When that was necessary, an earnest endeavor was made to carry out the arrest and subsequent procedure in court so that the child would come through this experience with an increase, instead of loss, of respect for the law. Court action was never taken when there was reason to believe satisfactory action could be taken without it.

When a suitable private agency to carry on the social treatment was available, the children were immediately turned over to it. In many parts of Greater New York and for many types of behavior, such agencies are not available, and the crime-prevention officers themselves were obliged to provide the social treatment. There are very few competent agencies concerned with boys and girls between sixteen and twenty-one. These boys and girls are especially difficult to redirect when they have developed anti-

social habits, yet provision for the guidance and proper care which will keep them out of court is especially important, for inexperienced treatment may render the step between wayward minors and gangsters and prostitutes a short one.

The individual work of the crime-prevention officers was carried on under the direction of a trained social worker. Every case was registered with the Social Service Exchange, so that the benefit of the experience of all the welfare agencies that had ever known the child or his family, could be secured. Not only did the crime-prevention officers refer large numbers of cases to other agencies for follow-up supervision, but an indication of the close relationship existing between the Bureau and the social agencies is shown by the use made of the Bureau by the agencies. Each year in the published reports of the Crime Prevention Bureau which have contained an analysis of the volume of work showing the types of offenses reported and the ages and sex of cases, the sources from which they were referred were enumerated. The largest single group of cases came from the Police Department itself. Many generalizations have been made to the effect that the families of children will not turn to the police, but the fact that the second largest source of cases were parents and relatives would indicate that they do not hesitate to seek the aid of the police in caring for their delinquent children when they believe that it will be of real assistance to them. During the first four years of its life, the Bureau was appealed to by families in all grades of society, from the wealthy and prominent to poverty-stricken immigrants and by persons representing churches of all denominations and agencies of all types.

The first contact of a child with the forces of law is most important and may condition all of his subsequent attitude and behavior. Therefore, the officer who has this contact should be skilled not only in handling the problems involved in the necessary readjustment but also representing to the child a concept of law as just and intelligent. In the individual work the techniques involved are those of good case work. They are not unlike good probation and parole service but are applied at a time when they have a much better chance of being effective. Repeated appearances in court or periods of institutional commitment render case work increasingly difficult. The crime-prevention officer unites the sympathy and understanding of a trained social

worker with the power of the law. Properly combined such equipment makes an ideal instrument for dealing with delinquents.

The three following cases illustrate the nature of the service given to young delinquent boys and girls by the workers of the Crime Prevention Bureau:

*Case I.* Mr. C. reported to the Crime Prevention Bureau that his twelve-year-old daughter, Alice, continually stole at home and in school. He wanted her committed to an institution, as he did not know what else to do with her. She was found to be a tall, anemic, pathetic child, very much underweight. She was shy, hung her head, and answered in monosyllables, and although quarrelsome at home seemed attached to her younger sisters, aged eleven and ten, who gave her family no trouble. The principal of her school stated that Alice was a habitual thief, stealing things from other school children for which she had no use. She had previously attended a fresh-air class as it was believed she was suffering with tuberculosis, and there, too, complaints were made that small articles disappeared. The crime-prevention officer arranged for an immediate physical examination which disclosed that Alice, although badly undernourished, did not have tuberculosis. She was sent to a nutrition class at a hospital and arrangements were made by the social-service department to send the family extra milk and eggs. Her parents gladly carried out instructions regarding her care. After she attended a defective speech class, her school work improved. In six months she gained twenty pounds and her stealing stopped entirely.

*Case II.* Two sisters, Jean, seventeen, and Catherine, fifteen years of age, came to New York from a near-by state to look for work. While applying at a cheap employment agency, they met a Mrs. Brown, who offered them the hospitality of her home—a furnished rooming house in a poor section of the city. Ruth, a friend of Jean and Catherine, had weeks before, when homeless and stranded, come to the Crime Prevention Bureau for help. Mrs. Brown had offered to give her, too, a home but after a visit Ruth decided the place was a questionable one and reported this to the Crime Prevention Bureau. The woman and man officers who called at the house found Mrs. Brown just getting over a drinking spree. There was no evidence which warranted the arrest of Mrs. Brown, but it was clear that this was no place for young girls. While in the house the officers saw another very pretty young girl who said she had just rented a room there. Although she claimed to be eighteen, the woman officer doubted it and persuaded her to accompany her to a girls' club. Upon communicating with the Bureau of Missing Persons, it was found that she was a fourteen-year-old child who had been reported over a month before as missing from her home in a

near-by state. She was returned to her parents. Jean and Catherine were also returned to their homes. Mrs. Brown's house was kept under observation. In this case, as frequently happens, from helping one person, others were found who needed the protection.

*Case III.* Isidore B., sixteen years of age, was referred to the Crime Prevention Bureau by the head of a continuation school. He did not wish to attend this type of school and his mother reported he was unruly at home and had frequently struck her. The crime-prevention officer found that Isidore stayed up late at night reading books and building model aeroplanes and in the morning was too tired to go to school. His mother considered this "foolishness" and often destroyed his models and burned his books. They frequently quarreled over this and Isidore became sullen, stubborn, and violent. According to his mother, when Isidore was a small child his father had gambled away most of the money he made, had been sent to Sing Sing for stealing a fur coat, and soon after committed suicide by hanging himself in his cell. Since then Mrs. B. had supported herself and Isidore by cooking in restaurants but had to sell most of her belongings in order to meet living expenses. She had very few friends and tried to keep Isidore away from other boys as much as possible. His school record was found always to have been excellent, and although he did not want to go to continuation school, he had wanted to go to high school, but did not think it would be possible because of their poverty. The crime-prevention officer arranged for an examination at a mental clinic where it was found that Isidore was of superior intelligence. His mother came to realize the importance of his continuing his studies. A scholarship was secured from a private agency which enabled Isidore to go to high school, where his curriculum included a course in aviation mechanics.

An important part of the Crime Prevention Bureau's work was to find and remove conditions in the community which make for delinquency. Many of the boys under the Bureau's care were met by crime-prevention officers for the first time in poolrooms which they were frequenting in violation of the law. When they were removed they were not left on the street corner with nothing to do but were put in touch with interesting recreational opportunities. The New York Crime Prevention Bureau was never given the responsibility for licensing commercial amusements, dance halls, poolrooms, motion-picture theaters, and similar places, but the officers' police powers enabled them to inspect for violations of the law affecting minors. Reports of such violations were sent to the responsible licensing official, and when

evidence warranted, legal action was taken by the Crime Prevention Bureau or through other police channels.

One of the special advantages of a unit in the Police Department for the protection of juveniles comes from the fact that it has the right to demand admittance and an opportunity to investigate places in which representatives of private agencies would scarcely be tolerated. The crime-prevention officers were concerned with adults only if they were contributing to the delinquency of minors, but many of the arrests made in such cases were of the greatest importance in providing necessary protection for children. The paucity in most communities of cases prosecuted against adults for contributing to the delinquency of minors is eloquent of the feebleness of the administration of such laws.

The Crime Prevention Bureau's function was not only to provide understanding and guidance to children and youth who came in conflict with the law and to minimize adverse influences, but it was also to see that there were available proper and adequate recreational opportunities which would supplant these influences. Because of a realization that during the depression the streets would be filled with boys who would ordinarily have had jobs, special efforts were made by the Crime Prevention Bureau to provide interesting recreation for them. If left to congregate on the street corners, many boys who are in no way potential criminals would drift into delinquency.

An important part of the Bureau's attack on crime was its special effort to break up juvenile gangs. Prompt court action in the case of certain leaders of the gangs was found genuinely effective. In other instances the members were redirected into socially desirable activities. Many boys and girls were introduced for the first time to the settlements and community centers, and as far as possible existing recreational resources were used, but in many neighborhoods they were so far from adequate that the crime-prevention officers were forced themselves to develop a recreational program. Hundreds of baseball teams with thousands of boys were organized throughout the city, into the Junior Police Athletic League, popularly called *pals*. Boys and girls were enrolled in football and basketball teams on a smaller scale and many boys took part in the boxing bouts sponsored by the Bureau. Swimming instruction was given and a wider use of swimming pools secured with a friendly and well-ordered invasion

of pools in some of the most aristocratic apartment houses and clubs in the city.

Three illustrations will serve to show how the Bureau dealt with gangs of children:

*Case IV.* A crime-prevention officer, in the course of his patrol, came upon a group of seven boys between the ages of ten and thirteen picking up pennies which had fallen to the sidewalk when they had broken open a gum-vending machine. Two of the boys were apprehended. In the interview that followed, they gave the names of the other boys, all of whom lived in the same block. The officer looked them all up, visited the school they attended, and interviewed their parents. They frankly admitted that they had made a systematic business of robbing vending machines in order to obtain money to go to the movies. The owner of the machines met the boys and on account of their extreme youth and willingness to confide in and remain under the supervision of the crime-prevention officer, did not want to file a complaint against them. Arrangements were made for the boys to join a boys' club where they had the use of a swimming pool, gymnasium, playroom, and library. In addition to the group work, personal supervision was given each boy and not one of the seven has since caused any trouble. The end of this record reports a call on the crime-prevention officer by the boys in a body. They showed him their club-membership cards and he entertained them with stories—with some interpolation—about what becomes of boys who go in for a life of crime. The officer, who was very effective with boys, ended their visit with an exhibition of jiu-jitsu, in which all policemen are trained. The boys unanimously declared upon leaving that when they grew up they wanted to be policemen.

*Case V.* A crime-prevention officer, while patrolling his district, frequently heard the remark in the neighborhood, "The Forty Thieves Gang did this," referring usually to some destruction of property or minor thefts. No one seemed able to identify the "Forty Thieves," probably because of fear of reprisals. A little detective work disclosed that this gang had started about two years before when a then nameless group of boys started wandering about, stealing from stores and from trucks stopped by traffic lights. From this a few went to robberies and burglaries from stores. Several were arrested and when discharged in court they became bolder. One day a man told them they reminded him of the characters in a book called "The Forty Thieves." They liked the name and from then on it was theirs. After the crime-prevention officer started his investigation, the leader, who was about twenty years old and wanted in connection with a burglary, disappeared and was said to have left the city. The gang was found to consist of about

thirty members ranging in age from twelve to twenty years. Practically their only income came from their law-breaking activities. When not engaged in these, the older boys spent most of their spare time playing cards, congregating in poolrooms or motion-picture theaters; the younger ones in playing cards or craps on the streets or in the hallways of tenements. They lived in an environment of poverty and filth. The parents, who in most instances did not speak English, were unable to cope with them or fully to comprehend their behavior. Seven arrests were made of the most serious offenders. This was done not only to protect the community but to demonstrate to the rest of the gang that laws must be observed and to give them respect for the police. The other members of the gang were warned; some of them have been watched by the precinct patrolmen, and others who responded to the supervision and guidance offered them were directed into desirable recreation. For a number jobs were obtained and others were returned to school. Each boy was carefully studied, his parents seen and given help in improving their environment. Through the efforts of the Crime Prevention Bureau this gang which was becoming an increasingly serious menace to the community was broken up, at least some of its members were satisfactorily adjusted, and effective court action was taken in the case of others.

All gangs do not need such drastic treatment. Instead, some, like the following, can be redirected into more useful channels:

*Case VI.* Complaints were received daily at a police precinct of boys who were stealing off fruit stands, playing baseball in the street, breaking windows, shooting craps, and in other ways making trouble in the neighborhood. These boys were mainly between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one years. It was found that in this precinct consisting of ninety-four miles of streets, with a population of approximately fifteen thousand, the only form of amusement was a single motion-picture theater. The crime-prevention officer assigned to this district was forced to organize his own recreational group. As he was a baseball enthusiast, he first formed a baseball league of eight teams from the group of boys. Permission was given by the owner to use a large vacant field, but it required filling and leveling. In order to make the field fit for playing purposes it was necessary to dump a hundred loads of dirt into the left field. A construction company, as its contribution, filled in this ground with dirt from a subway excavation. The field was leveled and stones removed by volunteer workers. The owner of the local newspaper agreed to publish the weekly standing of the clubs, batting averages of players, and reports for scores of the games. The



interest of the civic clubs, public schools, and citizens was aroused in the plan. A local lumberyard donated lumber for the fence, seats, and backstops. A hardware store furnished the wire for the backstops. The ground keeper of Ebbets Field, the Brooklyn National League ball park, marked off the field and a first-class diamond was the result. A former shortstop of a big-league team, a friend of the crime-prevention officer, gave help in conducting the games and three semiprofessional players who lived in the precinct gave their services as umpires. By unanimous consent, the crime-prevention officer was made the Judge Landis of the league. He had conferences with the players about their health—some of them had not enough wind for base running, nor were their hearts in good condition. These he advised to cut out cigarettes and to get to bed earlier in order to get in condition. The players seemed anxious to keep to the training rules mapped out. A physician volunteered to lecture on health and a former Olympic hurdler gave talks on training, diet, and athletics generally. The local clergy, including representatives of the Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish faiths, gave talks on books and ethics and religion. Business men gave advice on opportunities for work and training needed. In the fall football and basketball teams were organized and the Police Athletic League has become a permanent institution of that community. The captain of the precinct reports that it has become a rare, instead of daily, occurrence to receive complaints regarding the behavior of boys in that territory.

Through the influence of the crime-prevention officers, play streets were opened up in the congested centers of the city and supervised by them. It was also possible with the aid of the Bureau to keep open certain school playgrounds during hours when they would otherwise have been closed. It was always intended that as soon as the recreational facilities were better developed, the crime-prevention officers would be withdrawn from direct participation in recreation activities. The Bureau's objective was to lend official support by showing the need for and extending the activities of the existing recreational agencies, but not to supplement their work any longer than was necessary. However, if such facilities are to be effective means of crime prevention they must not only be available, but children who are potential criminals must be brought in touch with them. The crime-prevention officers were constantly alert to reach children in the delinquency areas and to tie them up with the proper agency.



## TEAMS

Drill—Calisthenics—Jiu Jitsu—Boxing

Under the direction of Acting Dept. Chief Insp. \_\_\_\_\_, School of Recruits  
Concluding Numbers by Members of Band

Program arranged through the courtesy and  
cooperation of

Edward P. Mulrooney, Police Commissioner, N.Y.C.

"If you want to do anything permanent for the average man, you must begin before he is a man. The chance of success lies in working with the boy, not the man."—FORMER POLICE COMMISSIONER THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

The police, having direct firsthand contact with crime in all its ramifications, are in a better position to find its roots and eradicate them than is any other agency in the community. An energetic, intelligent personnel in a Crime Prevention Bureau can discover and eventually help to change some of the procedures in the handling of young offenders which frequently tend to keep them in, rather than divert them from, careers of crime. The use of such opportunity was illustrated when the Junior Line-up was established. In the spring of 1934 the Police Commissioner directed that boys and girls under twenty-one should no longer be paraded across the stage of the regular police line-up. This police practice, set up for the protection of the city against the hardened criminal, is in no sense a desirable experience for young offenders. Over half of those brought into the Junior Line-up were discharged by the magistrates. Certainly nothing could have been accomplished by subjecting them to this experience. Thrown thus in contact with hardened criminals and the bright lights and publicity, some displayed pathetic humiliation while others defended themselves with a brazen attitude, the youths' interpretation of a "hard-boiled big shot."

For the regular line-up stage questioning, was substituted a quiet meeting with the crime-prevention officers, the arresting officer, and the arrested boy or girl, sitting around a table, trying to find out what forces led to the trouble, talking over difficulties together and discussing a plan for the future if the case should be dismissed in court. It was hoped that the next step would be the establishment of a special court to hear the cases which came to the Junior Line-up.

No system has been established which accurately measures the results of the Crime Prevention Bureau's program. It will

never be possible to prove what specific crimes have been prevented, but it is true that after the Crime Prevention Bureau began its work the number of juveniles taken to court for serious offenses showed a marked decline. The statistical reports which were compiled monthly and the record kept of social-treatment cases furnished a regular accounting of the volume of work and told the stories of hundreds of children who had been turned from careers of delinquency to legitimate activities.

There are other evidences of the value of the Crime Prevention Bureau's program besides its own records. It was under constant observation of the parents of the children whom it sought to help and of the social agencies charged with the responsibility of the welfare of young persons with whom it worked. Men and women concerned with the prevention of delinquency, not only from all parts of this country, but also from all over the world, examined this experiment and reported upon it in many languages. One of these, Professor Edwin H. Sutherland of the University of Indiana states: "The Crime Prevention Bureau in the Police Department of New York City is one of the most efficient in the United States, if not in the world."<sup>18</sup>

Through the development of concrete procedures directed toward specific ends, combined with a certain amount of flexible experimentation, the Crime Prevention Bureau laid the foundations in the New York City Police Department of a thorough-going program to find and remove the causes of juvenile delinquency and crime. It developed methods of cooperation with all the other agencies in the community and started to weave a close-meshed network for the sifting of the potential criminals in the city's child population.

The question is sometimes raised whether in times like the present the community can afford to spend money on such services in a police department. Crime unchecked is an enormously costly burden on society and any real prevention of it is the truest form of economy that can be practiced. The huge grist of minor crimes and the occasional terrible and spectacular crimes involve a stupendous expenditure of public resources. Reduction in that grist is the only real way to reduce cost. It should be kept in mind, too, that officers assigned to a Crime-Prevention Bureau are not only working on the prevention of

<sup>18</sup> "Principles of Criminology," 1934.

juvenile delinquency but in the course of their work are also performing a good deal of regular police service. Detail to a Crime-Prevention Bureau often means that their services are used more effectively than they otherwise would be. On their patrol to remove conditions in the community that make for delinquency, they are alert to observe and take action on all law violations. In the New York Crime Prevention Bureau the officers were able on numerous occasions to get information which, when turned over to the Detective Bureau, resulted in important arrests.

Expenditures for this service must be considered in the light of the fact that the alternatives are more expensive. Reformatory care is not only more costly but less effective than early work with delinquents. The only real hope for the taxpayer lies in the efficient spending of more, rather than less, for crime prevention. But there must be a recognition of the fact that a good idea alone will not turn the trick.

Accomplishment may be expected in direct proportion to the amount of trained service, effectively organized, that the community is willing to provide for this purpose. We know that, like public health, crime prevention is purchasable.

## Chapter XIII

### THE CRIME PREVENTION WORK OF THE BERKELEY POLICE DEPARTMENT

ELISABETH LOSSING\*

#### *Head of the Crime Prevention Division*

Nine and thirty-eight hundredths square miles of land and 7.81 square miles of water form Berkeley. Beyond Berkeley, to the west, is the bridge-spanned bay, San Francisco, and the Golden Gate; behind it, to the east, is a hill horizon; beside it, to the south, is the larger city, Oakland; beside it, to the north, is the smaller city, Albany.

Within these boundaries, 82 years of community life have developed a population in excess of 82,000.<sup>1</sup> Of this population, approximately 20,000 are juveniles (up to the age of twenty-one years) and at least 14,000 of these juveniles attend the public and private schools. Out of the total number of juveniles, some 1,800<sup>2</sup> make daily visits to the 20 school and 6 park playgrounds of the city.

If figures help,<sup>3</sup> picture Berkeley's population as being 94.5 per cent White, 2.6 per cent Negro, 2.9 per cent other races; as hav-

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<sup>1</sup> 1890, 4,968; 1900, 15,000; 1906, 26,283; 1910, 40,034; 1915, 64,056; 1920, 56,036; 1930, 82,109 (an increase of 521 per cent in 30 years).

<sup>2</sup> September, 1935, figures of Berkeley Recreation Department.

<sup>3</sup> From statistics given in "The Incidence of Delinquency in Berkeley, 1928-1932," by Herman Adler, Frances Cahn, Johannes Stuart, their figures being based upon the 1930 federal census.

ing 25 per cent engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries, 18.3 per cent in trade, 16.7 per cent in clerical work, 19.4 per cent<sup>4</sup> in professional work (including the 7 per cent professionally employed at the University of California), and 20.6 per cent in agriculture, forestry, public service and so on.

From the center of things, Berkeley is "away out there," but for a long time it has been trying to understand and help people. It cannot supply the figures of its "allegedly delinquent"<sup>5</sup> juvenile population, but it is not indifferent to the delinquent's need of special care, study and control, nor to the predelinquent's plight.

For more than ten years, Berkeley has been working through such community facilities as the Coordinating Council (the first in this country), the school clinical service (serving some 400 children annually), and the Crime Prevention Division of the Berkeley Police Department (handling 350 juveniles annually).<sup>6</sup>

The Crime Prevention Division, established July 1, 1925, was the logical outgrowth of many years of serious desire on the part of the Chief of Police, August Vollmer<sup>7</sup> to make a determined attack upon the complicated problem of juvenile delinquency. This is indisputably proven by the police reports of 1905 to 1925, bulging files of correspondence, enormous scrapbooks, old juvenile-delinquency maps, and by other enlightening information.

For the present purpose, it seems best to consider the historical data of the Police Department in the light of four periods: 1905-1915, when awareness of the problem of juvenile delinquency began; 1915-1919, when definite attempt was made to understand the problem and when comparable figures were first recorded;

<sup>4</sup> Of the white population, 79.6 per cent are native born, 14.9 per cent foreign-born; of the native whites, 53.3 per cent are of native parentage, and 26.3 per cent are of foreign or mixed parentage; of the foreign-born whites, outstanding nationalities are English, Germans, Italians, and Canadians.

<sup>5</sup> HERMAN ADLER, "The Incidence of Delinquency in Berkeley."

<sup>6</sup> The total "juvenile offenses" of the department approximate 1,270 annually. The Juvenile Officer works with boys over 12, and other men officers handle the remainder of the juveniles, representing the balance of the offenses.

<sup>7</sup> Elected Town Marshal of Berkeley, April 8, 1905; appointed Chief of Police of Berkeley, August 13, 1909; resigned as Chief of Police, June 30, 1932; appointed Professor of Police Administration in the Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, July 1, 1931.

1919-1925, when definite plans were made to provide more adequate service for handling juvenile delinquents; 1925-1935, when theory was put into practice by the establishment of a Crime Prevention Division.

The beginning years of the first period were concerned with organization primarily, but by 1909, "runaway boys, truant, dependent and incorrigible children," began to occupy space in the annual police reports. Limitations for proper dispositions of the rapidly increasing cases at that time gave rise to the endorsement of a County Detention Home, as well as to the adoption of the Cleveland Common Sense Policy<sup>8</sup> in dealing with juveniles and misdemeanor offenses. The years 1909-1910 also marked the beginning of "Voluntary Police Probation," the forerunner of the department's present "Unofficial Police Probation." In those early days, contrary to present practices, probationers not only reported to the Juvenile Officer assigned to such work but many of them had their regular time of reporting to the officer "on the beat."

The summarized report of 1905-1915 would be of greater factual value if juvenile offenses, arrests, and dispositions were separate from those of adults. Undoubtedly the malicious mischief and trespassing charges, many of the petty larceny charges, and quite a number of the burglary charges were against juveniles. In violations of the Juvenile Court Law, the figures for 1915 double those of 1911. Undoubtedly such dispositions as "certified to Juvenile Court," "delivered to parents," "delivered to probation officer," "placed on police probation," "sent to Boys' and Girls' Aid Society," "sent to Reform School," refer to juveniles. The adoption of the Cleveland Common Sense Policy in 1909 lessened the number of juveniles appearing at the police station or having records made of them, as the officers settled many situations while on the beat.

Confirmation for the conclusion that juveniles were the cause of real concern to the Police Department is evidenced by the

<sup>8</sup> The "Cleveland Common Sense Policy" originated with Chief Kohler of the Cleveland, Ohio, Police Department. It meant literally a "common sense" method in dealing with minor cases, *i.e.*, "Juveniles are never to be placed in prison. They are to be taken home, or the parents sent for and the children turned over to them for parental correction." It gave officers more time to devote to the *prevention* of serious crimes and the apprehension of real criminals.



inclusion of a course by the Chief of Police on the "Treatment of Juvenile Offenders" in the school of instruction for officers in 1910-1911.

Comparable data on the incidence of juvenile offenses began to be available in 1915. From that year to 1919, juvenile offenses are reported as follows:

Summary	1915-1916	1916-1917	1917-1918	1918-1919	Total
Stolen property.....	116	96	155	130	497
Penal Code.....	311	295	387	416	1,409
Miscellaneous laws.....	46	4	18	59	127
City Ordinances.....	58	49	95	101	303
Miscellaneous reports.....	27	24	54	57	162
Total.....	558	468	709	763	2,498

Not only did the figures bring the problem sharply to mind, but officers long identified with the department could see the children they had once contacted going straight through the years to the penitentiary. To lessen the possibilities of such human waste, many of the officers sponsored activities along preventive lines. One conducted an evening juvenile band, another became identified with the early Boy Scout work in Berkeley. Several put their hearts and souls, time and energy, into the Junior Police movement, a movement that from 1915-1917 had markedly successful results with two or three hundred boys. In all of their activities, the officers gave that vital quality necessary to all crime-prevention work; namely, consecutive effort over a long period of time.

Through these years, the officers were having their interest stimulated, their knowledge increased, and their efforts guided by the faculty of the police school. As early as 1915, psychiatrists, neurologists, and psychologists were invited to conduct lectures in the police school, and the officers were required to pass examinations on the subjects presented. The impetus for such a forward-looking type of police school came from analysis of the mounting figure of local juvenile delinquency and the resulting conviction that prevention of crime was the only important function of a police department. The conviction was strengthened by

inspiration from the sort of work that Dr. William Healy, the eminent psychiatrist, was then doing in Chicago in carefully studying, diagnosing and making recommendations to the Juvenile Court for the treatment of young delinquents.

In 1916, summer-session courses in Crime Prevention were established at the University of California in Berkeley and were conducted with the advice and assistance of members of the Police Department. Two of these courses were in criminology. The instructor examined a number of delinquents using the Police Department as a clinic. The outstanding problem cases were used for illustrative material and also as a means of instructing the students in the technique of examining delinquents and preparing their social histories. In the same summer session, another instructor gave a course in criminal sociology, placing the emphasis upon the social and economic factors that contribute to crime.

By comparing the previously quoted 1915-1919 figures for juvenile offenses with the figures for major crimes, the Chief of Police, Mr. Vollmer, was able to see the relationship between them—the curves paralleling each other. From them prophecy could be made of the crime curve from 1920 to 1930. The prophecy was not a happy one, so effort was redoubled to understand more about the *why* of delinquency. A psychiatrist,<sup>9</sup> lecturing in the police school, started studies which he continued until the time of the World War. These studies were convincing proof that things which might have saved children from lives of crime had been left undone.

A psychiatrist and a police chief earnestly studying, experimenting, and thinking together for a period of years, have something to share with a community intent on bettering the condition of children. The "Hawthorne School Survey" of 1919 proves this to be true.<sup>10</sup> The two men, learning that the progressive principal of the school wished an investigation and diagnosis made of all phases of the life of each child enrolled in the school,

<sup>9</sup> Dr. Jau Don Ball.

<sup>10</sup> The Hawthorne School, an elementary school in a factory district in charge of a principal with vision (Mrs. Beatrice Wilmans), had become a definite social unit in the community. The City of Berkeley, the Board of Education, the University Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., factory owners, as well as mothers of the pupils, united in expressing their interest and cooperation in various practical ways.

secured the cooperation of key agencies in the organization of the machinery necessary to accomplish the work. In the words of the Chief of Police, "It was the very first time in the history of America that a school, a police department, a health agency, a welfare organization and an Economics Department of a University, teamed together." The resulting case studies proved of great service to the participating agencies.

It was evident from the police report of 1920-1921 that a condition was existing in Berkeley that required a united community attack. In the cases of children handled that year by the police, 191 had committed offenses so serious that they had been arrested and the arrests made a matter of record.

For two years, the Chief of Police and the Director of Research and Guidance in the Berkeley Public Schools<sup>11</sup> had lunched together at regular intervals "to discuss plans in each of the departments and the nature of the help each could give the other. The first discussion brought to light common problems and disclosed the fact that there was duplication of work on several cases." The 1920-1921 police report, therefore, proposed a plan, destined to be known later as the Coordinating Council plan, which, enlarged or modified to fit the community, has been widely adopted. "The primary need is a central organization. . . . Whatever force, intelligence or training is brought to bear on the problem by the police, the good we may do is limited unless full-hearted support is accorded by an organized and actively cooperative community."

The informal meetings of the embryo Coordinating Council continued—the original two members having invited the Director of Public Health to join their discussions. "The first Coordinating Council meeting of which there is a written record was held on February 10, 1925 . . . and from that time, the Council, enlarged to include representatives of other public agencies, has met at frequent intervals, except during school vacations."<sup>12</sup>

The result of the council's early list and map making and exchange of data brought the sharp realization to the Chief of Police that the Police Department had neither machinery nor personnel for proper handling of juvenile-delinquency problems.

<sup>11</sup> Dr. Virgil E. Dickson.

<sup>12</sup> Quotations from an unpublished manuscript, "The Berkeley Coordinating Council for Child Welfare," by Miss Lillian Lasher (1935).

This realization was a preliminary step to the formation of the Crime Prevention Division.

Progress up to this point may seem to the reader to have been no more than a normal, orderly procedure, but let it be emphasized that the barriers that have to be overcome by all police departments had also to be overcome in Berkeley. There is a well-rooted tradition that police have nothing to do with social work, that there exists only one way of handling delinquents. Somewhere, deep rooted as a conception in the mind of the public, an antipathy has grown in regard to the police acting as social workers. These barriers had to be removed in Berkeley before the Crime Prevention Division could be brought about.

Up to 1915, no police department as a whole had received any instruction in social psychiatric principles in relation to police work. The ten-year report compiled in 1915 motivated the Chief of Police to have such instruction given.

Again, no effort had ever been made by a police organization to assist in procuring information in regard to the *causes* of delinquency. Not *anywhere*, as a whole, had a Police Department ever considered it within its province to concentrate its attention upon juvenile delinquency.

Outside forces contributed to make the program possible in Berkeley and aided in developing a technique that was unlike that found elsewhere. The Chief of Police established the practice of soliciting aid from specialists and encouraged the officers to do the same. Naturally it made for a higher type of service than could have been possible otherwise.

Then, too, the press in Berkeley was neither critical nor narrow minded. Its editorial column commented favorably upon the successive and successful innovations and that in turn helped to win the confidence of the public.

There was backing from other sources, that of the social units of the community, such as the school, health, and welfare departments. The Chief of Police served as a Director on the Board of the Berkeley Welfare Society for a long period of time. Berkeley took this as a matter of course as time went on, and the social units all evidenced a willingness to aid the police officials. Through such an interchange of understanding, it was not surprising that such things as the "Hawthorne School Survey" and the Coordinating Council Plan developed.

In fact, it was through an interchange of understanding that the Crime Prevention Division came into existence in the form and at the time it did. The Social Research Section of the College Women's Club invited the Chief of Police to address them at the time that they were making social studies and surveys.<sup>13</sup> There was an immediate fusion of aims and ideals, expressed first in a desire to start a very modern Child Guidance Clinic and later, when this idea seemed premature, to work toward the appointment of a well-trained policewoman in Berkeley.

With the Chief's approval, the idea gained favor among club women in general and ultimately had the stamp of approval of the City Manager<sup>14</sup> and the City Council. A systematic educational program was carried out for many months, the untiring leader of the Social Research Section<sup>15</sup> being joined in her work by a fellow section member who happened also to be a member of the City Council at that time. Women's clubs, church and civic groups were addressed and the general public was reached by helpful newspaper publicity.

Although the movement for the appointment of a policewoman to organize and head the Crime Prevention Division suffered the delay of a year while the Chief of Police, Mr. August Vollmer, served in a similar capacity in Los Angeles, and later, the delay of a half year, while the person selected was allowed to finish the training she had begun as a psychiatric social worker at the New York School of Social Work, the appointment ultimately took place on July 1, 1925. The policewoman had met the following requirements:

The woman police officer in charge of the Crime Prevention Division of the Berkeley Police Department, as well as each additional policewoman who may be appointed later, shall be a trained social worker, preferably with the stress laid on the *psychiatric* and psychological training, as evidenced by a certificate of a recognized school of social work, or the equivalent of such a certificate from a college of the first class, and she must have had some practical experience with executive responsibility in work with individual delinquents.

<sup>13</sup> 1920.

<sup>14</sup> John N. Edy.

<sup>15</sup> Mrs. John P. Buwalda, at that time Regional Director in the International Association of Policewomen.

In addition her appointment was further approved because of her former local social-work experience.

A few extracts quoted from the letters written by the Chief of Police to the prospective policewoman while she was in New York show the aims and ideals for the Crime Prevention Division:

The policewoman's work in Berkeley will consist largely in dealing with pre-delinquency problems. Primarily it is intended to harmonize the agencies that are here in an effort to concentrate these forces that deal with the health, education and morals of the children upon the problem child *long before he reaches the police station*. Obviously the policewoman would also have the delinquent children to handle, more particularly, the delinquent girls . . . and the occasional females who are brought to the station for interrogation or prosecution. City money has been made available for this position. . . . School Superintendent, Welfare Agency, Berkeley Dispensary and all of the character-building agencies in the community are anxious to cooperate and little difficulty should be experienced in putting over the most constructive program that has ever been proposed in the country for the prevention of crime. . . . There is no doubt of the truth of Dr. Healy's<sup>16</sup> statement, *i.e.*, that each community needs individual organization. Utilization of existing agencies reduces expenses to the minimum and that of course is a prime factor in any campaign for the prevention of delinquency. . . . Little has been done in a practical way for the prevention of delinquency and this field completely absorbs my interest. . . . The following will suggest the nature of the undertaking. The police, health, school and welfare departments will pool their information concerning problem children and delinquency contributories with the hope that the massed facts thus obtained may suggest remedial measures. . . . Every Tuesday a group of us (the Coordinating Council) meets in executive session. Case reports are read and carefully analyzed, and plans for attacking the problem are gradually developed. . . . Each teacher in each school has furnished the school superintendent the name, address, nationality and individual difficulty of the problem children within the school. Other agencies are following similar lines within their own fields. . . . Maps have been prepared showing where the problem child lives, and, with colored pins, the type of problem. The material is then again massed on a single map and each department is indicated by a different color of pin. Thus we can detect duplication. . . . Our plan of attack as at present developed, is as follows: A section of the city has been set aside for experiment and research. This section

<sup>16</sup> Dr. William Healy, since 1917 Director of the Judge Baker Foundation in Boston, Mass.

is a Junior High School section and in that district are located one Junior High School and two elementary schools. Every agency that can be useful in elevating the moral, physical and educational standard of that particular district will be called upon to do active work. Everything that the University has to offer in the way of scientific work will be brought to bear upon that community and the results obtained will be carefully checked from time to time. A similar community adjoining the district that will be studied will be set aside as a control and in that section we shall deliberately forget to do anything of a helpful and constructive nature. Two other sections adjoining the unit under survey will receive the ordinary attention that the community usually gets. Thus it will be seen that if our work is effective, we should have little difficulty in demonstrating the fact to the world. If it is not, we will have to admit that all the scientific theories of medicine, psychology, biology and education are wrong and we will have to have a new basis from which to operate. The program as outlined is planned for a ten-year period. It cannot be done in less time and it may take us considerably longer to convince ourselves that we are on the right or wrong track. . . . This is an original piece of work and will probably be the most interesting and constructive welfare program ever undertaken by any community.

In these letters are reflected Chief Vollmer's ideals and plans for a crime-prevention unit in the Berkeley Police Department. It was finally established in July, 1925. Ten years have passed since then, so the time is ripe for a review of this period of effort in the direction of reducing crime in Berkeley.

Not long ago the writer watched F E R A painters swishing and splashing paint on the walls of our clerical worker's<sup>17</sup> room, our famous "Children's Room," and the "Big Room" where the policewoman in charge of the Crime Prevention Division and the assistant policewoman<sup>18</sup> have their desks. The wear and tear and smudging of the past ten years disappeared under a magic golden glow of fresh new paint. With a painter, one skillful stroke and the past is obliterated. Another skillful stroke and all is golden for the future.

<sup>17</sup> The clerical worker began on a part-time basis, November 15, 1926, and has been employed full time since July 1, 1928.

<sup>18</sup> Miss Dorothy Stahl, University of California graduate and post-graduate in Social Work Training course, was appointed assistant policewoman on October 1, 1934, after working as a volunteer in the Police Department for several years.

How different is crime-prevention work! That takes time and there never will be enough of it to cover the pasts and brighten the futures of the endless procession of human beings we meet in crime-prevention work. Policewoman's work, as head of the Crime Prevention Division of the Berkeley Police Department, has been and will be, from the first to the last day, challenging, absorbing, and deeply satisfying. The first whirlwind months were ones of getting oriented internally and externally with the "job," with the organization, the deluge of "cases," the community, and the attempt to be all things to all persons at all hours of the day or night.

In Berkeley as elsewhere, crime-prevention work means dealing with defective conditions of home and neighborhood. The forward-looking plan of working with different junior-high-school sections, as mentioned in Chief Vollmer's letter of May 8, 1925, has never been consummated, due to obstacles which, as yet, have not been surmounted.

Our function has been and continues to be:

Dealing socially and legally with all the needs relating to women and children who come into the custody of the police, whether as offenders or as victims of offense, and adopting such legal measures and carrying out such social practices as may be necessary to correct or eradicate conditions which cause or contribute to delinquency.

While the Crime Prevention Division is the only division of the Police Department having the function just described, it is by no means the only division doing crime-prevention work. That can best be brought out by briefly describing the Department as a whole. If a chart were drawn, it would show that the Chief of Police is directly responsible to the City Manager for the efficient operation of the entire Police Department. One of the two captains of the Department is responsible to the Chief of Police for almost all police problems, which include "special events," discipline, supervision of the jail, direction of the Vice Division, and the entire Patrol Division including its sergeants and patrol sergeants. The head of the Crime Prevention Division, although ranking with members of the Patrol Division, is directly responsible to the Chief of Police.

Ranking next to the captain is the lieutenant who has charge of recruiting, examining, and training officers, making annual and



semiannual inspections and supervising the Traffic Division and the Junior Traffic Police.

The Patrol Division, in three platoons, has been completely motorized for 20 years. It conducts minor investigations and assists in major investigations and has earned the title, "The eyes and ears of the organization." Eyes and ears, trained as they have been to recognize social needs of human beings as well as to enforce laws, can be crime-prevention agents, or can be in a strategic position to pass along observations to the Crime Prevention Division. Both courses of action are daily occurrences, so there is a very close working relationship between the Crime Prevention Division and the Patrol Division.

The Detective Division, with its captain and four inspectors, deals definitely with crimes of a more serious nature. The work of this division dovetails with that of all other divisions, including the Crime Prevention Division.

The function of the Vice Division, the investigation of liquor and narcotics complaints, gambling and prostitution reports, is naturally of concern to a crime-prevention division, therefore a working relationship exists between it and the Crime Prevention Division.

The Traffic Division, concerned as it is with engineering traffic, enforcement of traffic regulations, education of the public in traffic information and safety measures, organization and development of the Junior Traffic Police, has by the nature of its work, less of a close tie-up with the Crime Prevention Division than have other Divisions.

The Record Division is one of vital importance to all divisions. The third hundred thousand of numbered reports (unnumbered prior to 1912) are now in its files. Its fingerprint identifications number about 150,000. Its photographic and laboratory work is extensive also. Requests for the use of its lie detector come from all divisions, although the court does not permit its records to be used as court evidence.

The newest division, the Radio Division, has already equipped all police cars with radio and supplies radio service to seven other towns and cities as well as to the district attorney's office and the sheriff's office in this county and an adjoining one. The possibilities of such a quick, efficient, and wide-reaching service is of course of utmost importance to all divisions.

Coming back to a detailed description, the work of the Crime Prevention Division has fallen into the following channels:

1. Working with adults; investigating and interviewing juvenile delinquents, *i.e.*, adolescent females, very young girls and boys *up to twelve years of age* (boys over twelve years are handled by an inspector of police<sup>19</sup> who formerly did all the juvenile delinquency work), and deciding upon official disposition or unofficial probation.

2. Organization of predelinquency work; cooperation with community resources.

3. Changing the public attitude toward crime-prevention work in a Police Department through speeches and other forms of publicity.

4. Organization of community work, such as doing committee work and developing extensive volunteer service from the University of California and other sources for developing activities in connection with juvenile work.

5. Working still farther "upstream" so as "to promote interest in the health, happiness and welfare of children."

In numbers the cases handled by the Crime Prevention Division of the Berkeley Police Department during the past 10 years have run as follows:

	Juvenile		Adult		Total
	M	F	M	F	
July, 1925-July, 1926.....	20	148	19	66	253
July, 1926-July, 1927.....	63	153	28	90	334
July, 1927-July, 1928.....	74	143	38	128	383
July, 1928-July, 1929.....	93	166	23	142	424
July, 1929-July, 1930.....	75	172	32	161	440
July, 1930-July, 1931.....	119	178	33	140	470
July, 1931-July, 1932.....	80	185	54	152	471
July, 1932-July, 1933.....	88	169	54	197	508
July, 1933-July, 1934.....	120	170	77	186	553
July, 1934-July, 1935.....	142	205	96	189	632
	874	1,689	454	1,451	4,468
	2,563		1,905		

<sup>19</sup> F. L. Waterbury.

It was not anticipated that such a large proportion of cases would be adult ones as the Detective Division handles women's cases of a criminal nature, the Vice Division those of flagrant immorality and the Patrol Division those of ordinary misdemeanors. The adult cases in the Crime Prevention Division have been those of women prisoners; women placed on probation to this office by the Justice's Court; women suffering from varying degrees of mental illness; women presenting their versions of neighborhood controversies; and men and women needing help in domestic situations.

We have been asked, "But how do *children* get into your clutches?" As we happen to be the sort of policewomen who believe that "preventive and protective work includes employing all that modern medical, psychological and psychiatric sciences have to offer, and using all the social resources of the community,"<sup>20</sup> we do not go out and "clutch."

Of the 2,563 juvenile cases handled in the ten years' work of the Crime Prevention Division, the nine highest sources of reference have been as follows:

	Juvenile male	Juvenile female
1. Officers' Reports . . . . .	284	483
2. Parents, guardian, or relative . . . . .	125	489
3. School officials, school nurse, etc. . . . .	90	181
4. Neighbors . . . . .	126	97
5. Store, factory, theater, etc. . . . .	107	65
6. Social agencies . . . . .	16	62
7. Friends, associates, volunteers . . . . .	19	54
8. Citizens . . . . .	29	38
9. Self . . . . .	2	57

Up to May 25, 1933, reference of juvenile cases by parents, guardian or relatives, would have headed the list. On that date, the present Chief of Police<sup>21</sup> issued General Order A-43505: "All officers will make carbon copies for the Crime Prevention Division of their reports involving (a) females, regardless of age; (b) boys

<sup>20</sup> From "A Historical Sketch of the Crime Prevention Division of the Berkeley Police Department," by Lillian Lasher, May 20, 1935 (unpublished).

<sup>21</sup> John A. Greening, appointed Chief of Police, July 1, 1932.

under 12; (c) domestic relations cases; (d) sex offenses against girls where it is necessary to have clinic or other examinations made." This order, so favorable to crime prevention opportunities, explains why "Officers' Reports" now constitute our leading source of reference.

Now let us ask, "What have these boys under twelve and girls up to twenty-one *done* to make them known to the Crime Prevention Division?" The law says they have violated sections of the Penal Code, General Laws, City Ordinances, and so on. We prefer the following classification which corresponds to the groupings on our Delinquency Spot Map:

	Juvenile male	Juvenile female
Stealing or attempted stealing.....	314	184
Ungovernable—beyond parental control	82	377
Truancy, runaways, missing persons....	77	213
Sex offenses.....	26	187
Disorderly conduct.....	154	80
Offenses against family or children.....	...	6
Unfavorable environment.....	28	70
Miscellaneous.....	31	114
Investigation.....	162	458
	874	1,689
	2,563	

The 620 cases classified as "Investigation" involve the process of confirming or disproving reports, accusations, or complaints. While such a process might lead to intensive case work or to crime prevention in the broad sense of the word, termination usually follows quickly, with a dismissal of the charge, or a warning or reprimand to the individual and always with a recording of information for future use for ourselves, the men officers, schools, or social agencies.

The above description of "Investigation" must be distinguished from "Investigating and Interviewing juvenile delinquents" mentioned on page 249 under 1. The latter may be said to be divided into two processes: (1) the preliminary *factual* investigation; (2) the "scientific" investigation which attempts to answer the why of the act. Then follows the policewoman's

decision as to whether "official" or "unofficial" action shall be taken.

To illustrate: Paul is brought in for bicycle stealing. The files show many previous offenses and a lack of results from our earlier efforts. We make the action "official" by sending him to the Detention Home. Mae is brought to us, bedraggled, reckless, defiant, unmindful of the gravity of her situation. Restraint is necessary, at least until some sort of a plan can be made so she, too, is taken to the Detention Home. Conference with the families and the probation officers and ourselves may suffice, but usually there must be Juvenile Court action. Our information is passed on to the probation officers, testimony is given if required, and follow-up work is done if requested, but Paul and Mae are no longer active cases in the Crime Prevention Division—their cases have been disposed of "officially."

Cases reported to us of children living in unfit homes, are referred by us to the special officer of the juvenile probation office assigned to such cases, either directly or after a preliminary investigation by ourselves. We may continue to supply information or we may assist the probation office if that assistance is requested.

As a preface to the description of our "unofficial" action, picture us as standing midway between the school and the probation office. Good homes in Berkeley, while respecting and appreciating the school system for providing visiting teacher, counseling and psychiatric service, try, nevertheless, to adjust the problems of their children so the above services will not be necessary for them; the schools, though standing shoulder to shoulder with the police, try to adjust their problem children so police records will not be built up for them; we, in the Crime Prevention Division, in spite of harmonious relations with the probation office, try to save our predelinquents and juvenile delinquents the necessity of Juvenile Court action; the probation office, although understaffed for so large a county, makes the effort to save its young charges from confinement in correctional institutions; the correctional institutions, in spite of almost overwhelming odds against them, hope their young people will not be future prison inmates.

This is an ideal progression but skill is needed in recognizing the exact moment at which to pass on responsibility and ask for

help. All of us, along the way, miss that exact psychological moment at times and then expect too decisive or too drastic action from the agency to which we have appealed.

Our "unofficial" action, then, is in keeping the situation in our own Department, but getting all the community help we can in adjusting the problems of the human being with whom we are working. Suppose the five-and-ten-cent store manager finds Jim stealing toys and asks us to take charge of him. Jim proves to be just a frightened beginner, frankly unhappy and anxious to make good. Perhaps one interview with him and his family terminates our contact with him. Ronald may have been waiting outside the store to receive the toys he sent Jim to steal. We send for Ronald and find many problems to be solved. He comes from a poorer home. His parents are inadequate ones. Ronald is placed on our "unofficial probation" to report once a week in our Children's Room until he seems better able to stand on his own feet. Tom and Dick go on orgies of "malicious mischief" and destroy property of angry neighbors.

We take them to the school psychiatrist who sadly shakes his head: "Too bad, too bad. Here they are, two normally bright, little eight-year-olds. Tom has a physical irritation which he will probably outgrow, but it makes him restless and unstable in the meantime and the butt of ridicule from other children. If he were a rich child, a long period of therapy could do wonders for him. If *only* his father would pal with him! Can't you persuade him to? If not, one of your young men volunteers will have to try to compensate for that lack. . . . And Dick, poor child, really almost in a depressive state of mind—no father in the home, a memory of harsh whippings by angry elders—a child with real possibilities, *if only* he could have a chance. No money, of course, for care in a more ideal environment. But even if there were money for both Tom and Dick to stay in an ideal environment for a year, the improvement that would inevitably result would all be destroyed if they had to return to their own *unchanged* environments. It would be like Harry, the other boy you brought in today. I was really hopeful a year ago after he stayed at — those months, but now with the father who fails him so badly—all the good has been undone. Of course we will provide the glandular medication he so badly needs, but that solves only part of his problem."

This "reporting" of children while on police probation brings about a tremendous opening and shutting of doors and shuffling of feet in the Children's Room, for some 7,500 visits have been made by the probationers in the ten years. That is why so many roller skates, scooters, homemade wagons, "bikes," and mangy pups are parked outside our end of the building.

Other persons come to see us in behalf of the probationers, some 1,700 in the ten years—and also in their behalf, we have made some 7,000 visits to homes, schools, hospitals, social agencies, courts, and various other places.

With some probationers,<sup>22</sup> the response is almost immediate, with others it takes time—and with some, it is never accomplished. The major purpose is to understand why the child is in trouble, to get at the cause of his particular sort of trouble, then to do those things which will replace undesirable habits with socially acceptable ones, furnish new thinking, better companionship, recreational outlets and new interests. This must be done with sympathy and understanding as well as firmness. It is not the intention of the Crime Prevention Division to coddle or indulge juveniles not to convey the impression that they are there for entertainment only. The Children's Room<sup>23</sup> is not a play room, although it looks like one. Some very serious talks take place there but no "scares" are thrown. It must be remembered that delinquent boys and girls come from all levels, from rich and poor homes, from homes of educated and ignorant parents, from the best residential sections and from the worst waterfront and factory districts of the city. No one particular class of society, economic or social, is represented by the juvenile delinquents. Cases of adolescent girls include all types of delinquency—runaways, some theater-mad, emotionally immature, self-centered, domestically unhappy, poorly endowed, poorly mothered. Some of these the policewoman can keep under supervision and by psychiatric advice succeed in changing their attitude and the attitude of the family and provide sufficient outlets for new and happier development; with others, family pride prevents the necessary contacts.

As previously stated, the Crime Prevention Division works with boys up to twelve years of age. Stealing and fighting form

<sup>22</sup> Quotation from "A Historical Sketch of the Crime Prevention Division," by Lillian Lasher, May 20, 1935 (unpublished).

<sup>23</sup> The Children's Room is furnished with books, pictures, periodicals, and games suitable for juveniles and is unique in police quarters.

the bulk of the charges against them. When a boy probationer reaches the age of twelve, he may be automatically released if the adjustment promises permanence; or he may be tied up to the Y.M.C.A. or the Scouts or some other character-building agency; or he may be transferred to the Police Inspector's supervision.

Juvenile work in Inspector Waterbury's office means interviewing the family and getting the home environment; checking with Dr. Dickson<sup>24</sup> and the school record; studying the deviation and the nature of the deviation and the progress made since the juvenile came under observation. Such advice is given to parents as is felt will be helpful in the matter of rehabilitation, such as avoidance of conflict in methods of correction, in choice of companionship, or suitable occupation for small reimbursement (mowing lawns, running errands, and so on) or occupation for leisure time. In certain selected instances, we find nothing short of a complete separation of the child from his family will avail us anything. In such cases all effort is made to find suitable foster homes in town or in the country.<sup>25</sup>

Another important function of the Crime Prevention Division has to do with the organization of predelinquency work in Berkeley. Berkeley was "ripe" for predelinquency work when the Crime Prevention Division was inaugurated and the newly selected policewoman in charge of the Division, having affiliations in national social work and psychiatric social-work organizations, was quickly absorbed into the local social-work group in which were many former coworkers. A greatly valued connection was with the newly established Berkeley Coordinating Council. Chief Vollmer and the writer, and later his successor,<sup>26</sup> have been the two representatives from the Police Department. These weekly meetings with school, health, recreational, and welfare leaders have furnished short cuts in time, backing, guiding, stimulation, and frank, kindly, and timely criticisms. From the meetings, too, have come understanding, realization of mistakes in policy and technique, and always a strengthening of purpose and resolves.

<sup>24</sup> Dr. Virgil E. Dickson, Assistant Superintendent, Berkeley Public Schools and Director of Research and Guidance.

<sup>25</sup> Statement dictated by Dr. H. N. Rowell, who works with Inspector Waterbury on cases of boys from twelve to twenty-one years.

<sup>26</sup> Chief Greening has been President of the Berkeley Council of Social Agencies for two consecutive years.



Old daybooks of the Crime Prevention Division bring to mind the heartiness of welcome from school principals, teachers, parent-teacher associations, social agencies, the Child Guidance Clinic (Berkeley Health Center), character-building agencies, and women's organizations. Local membership in various clubs and organizations naturally followed. The degree of friendliness and cooperation that has continued to exist might seem amazing to one unfamiliar with Berkeley.

In connection with the task of organizing the city for work with predelinquents and young delinquent children has been the necessity for interpreting the aims and ideals of crime prevention to the community. Although a novice in the art, the police-woman quickly found herself going hither and yon in response to the invitations that came for "speeches"—92 times the first year and 300 times since then! Discounting invitations that may have come because of the comparative novelty of policewoman's work, the energy spent has been of real importance to the work. Contact has been made with educational groups, from university to grammar schools, with religious groups of every denomination, with social work, civic, patriotic, and fraternal groups, both in Berkeley and outside of Berkeley. Radio talks have also been given. As a result there has been a give and take that could not have developed otherwise.

The impression must not be given that the Crime Prevention Division does all the public speaking on juvenile delinquency and predelinquency for the whole Police Department. Out of the present police group of 67 members, our splendidly qualified young men officers, with fresh and vivid "beat" contacts, appear frequently before the public.

The Crime Prevention Division has also had to participate in committee work, lend assistance in organizing and carrying on training courses and performing similar services. The most important contribution, however, has been that of developing an unusual type of volunteer service. This came about as the natural result of the fact that the one and only member of the Crime Prevention Division found herself all but submerged under the task of getting the Division under way. Young probationers were proud to help in small ways. Then from church groups, women's organizations, "free-lance" sources, University of California Y.W.C.A., and later the Y.M.C.A. of

the University, began flowing a regular supply of volunteers who gave clerical, abstracting,<sup>27</sup> and personnel service. It is rather startling to check up and find there have been approximately 400 volunteers in the ten years. Losing good volunteers with the passing of the semesters has its drawbacks, but from our young probationers we are learning to be philosophical about it. We are grateful for even a brief span of good and original work. We try to thank our volunteers but they claim the experiences have enriched their own lives.

At present we are having a Junior League volunteer coordinate the work of the 15 young men, 14 young women, and 10 "free-lance" volunteers who are helping us this semester. Each volunteer who is doing personnel work is carefully "matched up" with his or her individual probationer so as to make sure that he or she is the right one to furnish the necessary recreational outlets or to cultivate the desirable new interests. The probationers respond with enthusiasm, and on the whole the results indicate the value of the work. The University of California Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. give training courses each semester to better prepare their groups to meet the challenges thrust at them by the Crime Prevention Division.

Certain organizations make group contributions to the Division. For example, a church young people's group has continued a *Popular Mechanics* subscription for several years. Another club gave a charter subscription to the *Boys' and Girls' Newspaper*, and have also sent a large "hope chest" to our office which they keep filled with clothing, shoes, and so on for our needy families. And the Youths' Service Committee of the Berkeley Rotary Club has made our "shop project" possible this year.

Out of small beginning experiments have developed clubs which have proved beyond dispute the lasting value of such a form of crime-prevention work. Also out of a germ of an idea has grown our very delightful and original Christmas party which ties together the volunteer service of the men officers, the City's Recreation Sextette, the Chi Omega Sorority, the College Women's Club Juniors, and the Junior League.

And always we are working still farther "upstream" so as "to promote interest in the health, happiness and welfare of children."

<sup>27</sup> From current literature on subjects pertinent for speech material, students' use, and so on.

Just how far the Crime Prevention Division has worked "upstream" to prevent juvenile delinquency cannot be determined. The daily routine of administrative duties, countless interviews, and necessary work with cases, have left little time or inspiration for the creative effort that was originally hoped for. Group thinking and action through the Coordinating Council have come nearer to that ideal than anything else.

But others in the Police Department are making their contributions felt. One of the younger officers,<sup>28</sup> who has frequently taken our small boys on Saturday and vacation hikes and to free Y.M.C.A. swims, is awakened by whoops and yells early each Saturday morning as "The West Berkeley Gang" of young probationers arrive with a burst of energy at "The Shop" in the rear of his home. In the opinion of this officer who has long been pondering the answer to crime prevention, such bursts of energy are to be encouraged. He once sponsored a football team of troublesome young adolescents, which unfortunately sounded its own death knell by becoming too popular. He has succeeded in getting a Japanese gang and a colored gang, formerly at sword's point, organized into live-wire football teams. Two years ago he organized basketball teams selected from 25 boys of high-school age and recently one of the teams won a championship in a northern California tournament. Another time he organized a reading club of sixteen- and seventeen-year-old boys who wrote good reports of their eager reading of Tolstoi, Dostoevski, and other writers. "One boy who had previously acted as a lookout for a safe-cracking gang, wrote a brief on Dostoevski's 'Crime and Punishment' which would be a credit to any college man."

To individual boys, this officer has given understanding, sympathy, and treats, and in return has won confidences and loyalty. Quite his most interesting and successful experiment was giving a series of "real dress-up dinner parties" at his home to sixteen or seventeen young couples whose appreciation could not be doubted. "A club house is the only answer to crime prevention—the problem kid feels regular club houses and playgrounds are only places for decent kids. Compulsory rules remind them of their conflict with school authority."

<sup>28</sup> A. E. Riedel.

One of the police sergeants<sup>29</sup> a few years ago, was better known as the "Santa Claus of West Berkeley," as through his efforts an ever-increasing quantity of clothing and food samples from the University were delivered by him and his friends to the needy families on his beat. Even before this departure, he was a hero to some 300 West Berkeley boys under fourteen, who seemed to have no proper place in the sun with the older boys dominating the local playground. Vacant lots near the playground were donated for a baseball park. The City Manager lent a tractor and scraper; through the generosity of merchants and friends<sup>30</sup> a backstop was built, as were bars, high-jump pits, and a horseshoe course. Other equipment for games was added. The West Berkeley Y.M.C.A. sent four older boys to organize and act as managers for the baseball teams. The teams played other teams as well as each other. Any one of the boys will be thrilled to tell of the "Big Rally," the night they had the biggest bonfire that was ever built in Berkeley. A contribution of 400 "wienies" and buns made the evening complete. Although the boys still use the lots for football and other games, there has been no supervision or real leadership since Sergeant Ipsen has been put in charge of other work.

One of the police officers<sup>31</sup> has worked full time since 1929 as Director of Junior Traffic Police, an organization he modified from the original San Francisco plan of 1923 and developed to fit the growing need of Berkeley. Six hundred and forty-two boys now belong to the organization and have their traffic regulating in school vicinities authorized by city ordinance. This officer's work has been the inspiration for the formation of similar organizations in other parts of the world.<sup>32</sup>

A police inspector<sup>33</sup> in June, 1927, submitted an original plan, "The Sector System" which would have been a tremendous step in crime-prevention work could the clerical end of the plan have been arranged.

Recently the officers in the Berkeley Police Department filled out a questionnaire describing what each one was doing in crime-

<sup>29</sup> C. H. Ipsen.

<sup>30</sup> Chief Greening was the largest donor.

<sup>31</sup> D. H. Fraser.

<sup>32</sup> Such as the group started in Nanking, China, by a retired inspector, A. S. J. Woods, in 1929.

<sup>33</sup> Ralph R. Pidgeon.

prevention work. One of them<sup>34</sup> is chairman of the Kiwanis Club Committee on Underprivileged Children and through his committee swimming opportunities are given to a large number of boys. Many of the other officers are leaders of boys' activities in the community, organizing recreation for underprivileged children. Many of the officers, besides supervising boys placed on unofficial probation to them, split up juvenile gangs, check the conduct of juveniles in public places, try to keep children off the streets at night, handle petty cases "informally but judiciously," warn children not to tempt other children by leaving toys out over night and so on. They contact broken homes, offer advice, suggest ways in which a child may earn a little money to get the things he so badly craves. They watch for parental neglect, bad environment, and bad associates and see that such conditions are corrected or referred to the proper authorities. All officers make it a point to gain the confidence of the children on their beats and build up regard for the officers and other persons in authority. They are rearing their own children to be law-abiding citizens and the right sort of examples to other children.

The officers also make it a point to get acquainted with strangers in town, which often means that a contemplated crime will be checked. They educate store staffs in preventing children from shop-lifting or in apprehending them when caught in the act. They become acquainted with people in their districts who may have criminal associates and in many other ways cooperate with and carry out the ideals of the Crime Prevention Division.

And now to turn to the very significant question of the effectiveness of our efforts to reduce juvenile delinquency in Berkeley. The Berkeley Police Department cannot lay claim to an auditing system that can systematically measure "success" and "failure." The lack of such a system is well recognized by the Department itself and by Professor Vollmer who blazed the trail in crime-prevention work in the Department, and who frankly says, "It is an important and indisputable fact that there should be an 'auditing system.'" To this end the police statistician<sup>35</sup> is trying to standardize the collection of comparable and reliable juvenile-crime statistics in order that it can be determined in future with a fair degree of accuracy whether the crime prevention work is

<sup>34</sup> Captain Walter J. Johnson.

<sup>35</sup> Officer Anthony H. Bledsoe.

bringing a reduction in the amount of juvenile crime, assuming of course, that the changes in the amount of juvenile crime *can* be measured by the fluctuation in the number of juvenile arrests or the number of offenses attributed to juveniles.

Perhaps the nearest approach to an audit was "A Study of Constructive and Destructive Factors, with Special Reference to Juvenile Delinquency."<sup>36</sup> Actually the Crime Prevention Division has not yet been in existence a sufficient length of time to really trace the afterlives of former probationers. We have made a small beginning in that direction for a ten-year study, but eventually we hope the work may be properly done through the aid of some University of California research project. Even when that is done, it is puzzling to picture who can say what did or did not cause a success or failure. We must ask ourselves these questions, however:

Has the Crime Prevention Division "failed" when its work of years with a girl ends in her incarceration in a state hospital? Yes, perhaps for her, but with that experience in mind, perhaps not for some other child with similar behavior patterns. Has it "succeeded" when a normal, satisfying life has developed for a young woman whose deplorable early childhood situation was cleared up by our work? Partly because of us, "Yes," but mostly because there were fine capabilities within that child; but without *any* help, only failure could have resulted. Is it "success" when a boy, on probation to us for years on account of one unsocial act after another, leaves us at twelve, firmly tied to the "Y" and the Boy Scouts, an excellent "citizen" at school and apparently "cured" through the individual and massed attacks upon his problems? Or is it "failure" when in early adolescence his better-than-normal intellect and his deep-rooted acquisitive desires and his compensation for his undersized stature lead him to do acts so serious as to make one apprehensive for the future? When a former probationer writes us on her wedding night, or when we receive birth announcements, or when a boy calls on us on his twenty-first birthday (after an interval of nine years), or when others ask us to speak before a group of youngsters whom

<sup>36</sup> By Polly Mehrtens and Margery Carpenter, 1930, revised October, 1931. Mrs. Mehrtens was doing the statistical work in the Berkeley Police Department at the time the study was made. Miss Carpenter is Executive Secretary of the Berkeley Commission of Public Charities.

they in turn are trying to salvage, we ask them, "Did we help any?" "Yes," or "I hardly know," or "No, I don't believe I was reachable at that stage," or "I've tried so hard to puzzle that all out myself." We *know* we have been of help to poor floundering boys and girls, often with every single factor—personal, social, economic—askew, as far as the limits of their horizons! But we have no factual proof. Our index-card and social-history forms of the children whom we have handled have given us an accumulation of valuable data from a social standpoint and we can be said to be feeling our way toward finding a new approach to crime prevention. What data we have acquired have been helpful to the Police Department in furnishing information concerning the whole juvenile delinquency problem and have proven useful to many doing research work.<sup>37</sup>

As things now stand, however, the Crime Prevention Division has actually subtracted rather than added to the possibility of the systematic gathering of comparable data to use in modifying the original program. For several years our annual reports contained a study of juvenile repeaters with physical, mental, and social factors analyzed according to a table devised by Chief Vollmer. Since the Child Guidance Clinic at Berkeley Health Center upon which we so greatly depended has been discontinued because of the depression, we have not had enough data to fill these forms out properly but we continued as best we could with the data secured from the school psychiatric service. Now that the work of the psychiatrist has been curtailed to three mornings a week and we do not get a written copy of the findings and recommendations, we have given up the use of the forms above mentioned. This explains why our tenth annual report does not have as complete a study of juvenile repeaters as previous reports have had.

In the opinion of Professor Vollmer, the plan for an experiment in crime prevention in Berkeley which he outlined in 1925 is still the objective toward which we should work, as it would mean a psychiatric attack upon an entire area and it could be watched for a number of years. The coordination of all community

<sup>37</sup> Especially so to Dr. Herman Adler who with Miss Frances Cahn and Johannes Stuart, published "Incidence of Delinquency in Berkeley, 1928-1932," University of California Press, Berkeley; and to Mr. Nathaniel Bodin, whose thesis, "116 Problem Children," is to be published in the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*.

forces would be included in such a study. What has been accomplished so far is that the public and private agencies interested in the welfare of children as represented in the Coordinating Council have become better acquainted with the problems of crime prevention and are now more keenly aware of the whole problem and the need of attacking it in its formative period. In Professor Vollmer's words:

If these years have contributed nothing more, they have given members of the Coordinating Council better understanding of the factors that underlie delinquency and the recognition of the fact that its solution is not simple. More conscious awareness of the problem has come to all of us than we had prior to this union of interests. The sources of rehabilitation are wanting in the community and gradually out of the Coordinating Council plan must come the answer to that.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>38</sup> The Berkeley Coordinating Council has been followed to date by the organization of 81 Coordinating Councils in California. A State Association of Councils has been organized and recently a National Advisory Committee has been formed. (See Chapter II on "The Los Angeles Coordinating Council Plan,"—EDITORS' NOTE.)





**PART IV**  
**INTRA-MURAL GUIDANCE PROGRAMS**



## Chapter XIV

### LONGVIEW FARM: A STUDY HOME FOR PROBLEM BOYS, ACTON, MASSACHUSETTS

LESLIE BURTON BLADES\*

*Director*

Longview Farm may not ineptly be called a professionalized foster home for predelinquent and delinquent boys. It aims at the maintenance of a controlled home environment for difficult, maladjusted, so-called "problem boys" under the direction of a trained personnel. In general only those boys who have failed of adjustment elsewhere or for whom little hope of adjustment in the typical foster home is entertained are sent to Longview Farm. It is impossible, however, to clarify the purpose, scope, and accomplishment of the work done at Longview without first recognizing that it is generally believed that the placement of problem children in foster homes presents distinct advantages over their treatment in institutions. It is assumed, for instance, that since the foster home preserves an environment which more nearly represents the social norm it is healthier and therefore more likely to result in a child's adjustment. Here, however, one is confronted with certain inescapable factors in the rehabilitation of the delinquent child which command analysis. It has already been shown that despite careful selection of foster homes,

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replacements are frequent, their cost is high, and failures are numerous.<sup>1</sup> And it has also been shown that the recidivism of delinquents is great despite the fact that many of them have been in foster homes.<sup>2</sup> The need is therefore obvious for experimenting with some specialized type of foster-home care for young delinquents.

Longview Farm is definitely functioning on an experimental basis. Believing that the frequent replacement of children in foster homes can be reduced and that the recidivism of young delinquents can be lowered, it seeks to work out and establish a technique of specialized foster-home care to that end. Since the boys who are sent to Longview are already looked upon as desperate or hopeless, Longview not only aims to rehabilitate these boys but hopes to accumulate and analyze data which may ultimately shed light upon the character and circumstances in the life of the individual boy which make him susceptible of rehabilitation or incapable of it. It is hoped that such data may be of service to child-placing agencies in deciding which types of children promise a social return for the investment required in placing them in foster homes. The directors of Longview Farm feel that it may indicate a way to meet the persistent need in this field for professional foster parents.

In a sense Longview Farm may be said to be a continuation on a larger scale of the Sharon Experiment, which was conducted by the Children's Mission to Children of Boston. This experiment sought to discover some remedy for the high replacement and accompanying small success in adjustment of difficult children. Five children were selected and a foster home was established for them at Sharon, Massachusetts. The experiment was carried on for five years and records were kept of the daily life of the children in the home. A complete report of this work is soon to be published.<sup>3</sup> It is perhaps pertinent to observe that the widespread interest which the Sharon experiment created among the agencies

<sup>1</sup> AUGUSTA BRONNER, WILLIAM HEALY, *et al.*, "Reconstructing Behavior in Youth," pp. 251 and 319, A. Knopf, New York, 1929. The authors found that 339 cases had 901 placings or an average of 2.65 placings.

<sup>2</sup> SHELDON and ELEANOR T. GLUECK, "One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents," p. 151, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1934. This study revealed 88.2 per cent recidivism in a five-year post-treatment period; 23 per cent had been in foster homes.

<sup>3</sup> Under the title of "Transplanted Children."

made the work of establishing Longview Farm simpler than might otherwise have been the case.

The outstanding difference between the Sharon Experiment and Longview Farm is that the latter is not under the direct auspices of any one child-placing agency. It operates independently but with the cooperation of six or more agencies, each of which places children at Longview Farm. Another difference has to do with personnel. The directors of the Sharon Home were social workers, all women. It lacked, therefore, certain essential elements of the usual foster home where a mother and father are present. Its success was remarkable, however, in that all five children remained at the home throughout the experiment and all are now normally adjusted individuals. Longview Farm which is designed to house a maximum of 20 boys (the average number being 15) is more nearly a typical family, in that the home is presided over by a married couple.

Longview had its origin at Burroughs' Maples early in the spring of 1932, where it was established by the writer and his wife on their own initiative.<sup>4</sup> The personnel in addition to the two directors, one of whom is a psychologist and the other a nutrition scientist, was a farmer<sup>5</sup> and his wife, a teacher. Some fifteen months later, when the directors had succeeded in interesting others in the possibilities of the undertaking, the experiment was moved to Longview Farm. This property of ninety acres was purchased by an interested private citizen.<sup>6</sup> A board of trustees was organized to assume control of the property and assist in shaping the general policies of the work. Throughout, the directorship of the venture has remained in the same hands.<sup>7</sup> The present staff consists of the directors, two assistant supervisors, a young woman, a cook, and a farmer with his assistant.

For the first two years of the experiment's existence there was a committee of supervisors from the various agencies placing boys at Longview Farm. It met regularly to discuss the work at the Farm and to keep the agencies informed as to the number and type of boys each had placed, as well as to exchange information

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Leslie Burton Blades, psychologist, and his wife, Dr. Edith Hawley, nutrition scientist.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. George Burroughs.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Joseph Lee, Jr.

<sup>7</sup> Mr. and Mrs. Blades.

gathered through the reports of agency visitors who were supervising individual cases. While this committee is less active than formerly it still exists and is a valuable part of the work, in that it enables all agencies utilizing the Farm to maintain mutual knowledge and understanding of the progress made.

As has been said, Longview Farm is independent of agencies in the sense that it was initiated by the two directors without sponsorship. Very speedily, however, the interest of foster-home workers supported the endeavor. Financing as a result has been of two kinds: fees paid to Longview Farm by agencies for the care of boys exactly as these are paid to any foster home; and contributions. During the first two years of the experiment the agencies solicited and received a gift from the Permanent Charity Fund of Boston to assist in the payment of board for boys placed by them at the Farm. Last year this sum, instead of being divided among the agencies using the Farm as a foster home, was given directly to the Longview Farm trustees to be allocated at the discretion of the board. This arrangement resulted in part from the fact that the fees paid by the agencies failed to meet the expenditure needs and partly to obviate discrepancies arising from the fact that different agencies maintained varying numbers of boys at the Farm.

The fee for board decided upon at the outset was \$10 a week per boy. Since this exceeded the average paid to foster parents, it has generally been regarded as high. The amount was based, however, upon the results of cost-of-living studies made by our nutrition scientist,<sup>8</sup> both in homes and in varied types of children's institutions. In some correctional schools, the per capita cost for maintenance was found to range from \$8 to \$12 dollars a week.<sup>9</sup> To the directors of Longview Farm, therefore, \$10 a week seemed barely adequate. Three and a half years of experience have shown that the cost was underestimated. Indeed, despite

<sup>8</sup> EDITH HAWLEY, "Nutritive Value and Cost of Food Served to College Students," *U.S. Dept. Agr. Circ.* 89, 1929. Also, "Average Quantity, Cost, and Nutritive Value of Food Consumed by Farm Families," *U.S. Dept. Agr. and Bureau Home Econ., Prelim. Report*, 1926.

<sup>9</sup> Annual Report of the Mass. Dept. of Public Welfare for year ending Nov. 30, 1934, *Public Doc.* 17, pp. 62 and 66.

Lyman School for Boys.....	\$10.16
Industrial School for Boys.....	8.25
Four County Training Schools (average).....	12.40

inconclusive data, the directors feel that if successful adjustment to social living of any large number of problem boys is to be achieved, it may ultimately appear that larger sums must be expended directly upon them.

Although the sources of cases received at Longview are primarily the private child-placing agencies, an occasional case is sent by public agencies and a few boys are placed directly by the parents upon the recommendation of child-guidance clinics.

The question is often asked: What types of problem children are usually sent to Longview? In general we have found that we get three types of children. First, there are the socially maladjusted children, by which is meant those whose behavior has brought them into conflict with organized society. Secondly, there are children who come to us as the result of family maladjustment. These are children who are unable to meet the home situation as it exists and must therefore be removed. Causes of their maladjustment may lie in the family rather than in the psychology of the child, but almost always such children border upon social maladjustment and if left in their homes might become delinquents. The third type is that group who have personality problems and may be psychopathic, although often the factors producing a maladjusted personality are found to lie in the environment rather than in the psychology of the child. Such a classification is, of course, general and variable. It is arrived at, however, by study of the child at the Farm in conjunction with records of the boy submitted by the referring agency.

The nature of the treatment given at Longview Farm is based not only on a knowledge of the child, but also on the particular philosophy of treatment held by the directors. Faced with the fact that during the past twenty years maladjustment of every kind shows an alarming increase, the social worker not less than the ordinary man tends to accept the belief that the present-day child possesses a less stable character or personality than was common among earlier generations. Adults are apt to believe that increasing delinquency and maladjustment are due to factors inherent in the constitution of the child, that he is morally, mentally, or physically less able to resist the temptations of the world, less able to maintain a creative, constructive life than he was formerly. Liberal interpretation inclines toward the opinion



that he is overwhelmed by the circumstances of the modern world.

The directors of Longview disagree with all such beliefs except the last, and only in part do they support this view. The modern child is fully as able to develop a creative and constructive social character today as he has ever been and he is able to do so in spite of the complexity of adverse circumstances in his environment. He is, as he has always been, an inheritor of life and fully deserving of his inheritance. He is more good than bad and capable of demonstrating his intrinsic worth; but he is, as has always been the case, subject to the domination of adults.

Children are a subject people, and they are helpless in this subjection because of the biological pattern of birth and growth. Humanity is essentially dominated by emotion and instinct, and children are dependent upon the adults with whom they share existence for the formation of their emotional patterns, the expression and the inhibition of instinctive function, and even for the rationale by which they seek to give intelligent account of what they feel and do. They acquire their emotional patterns, moreover, less through precept than through example. They feel as adults feel, and in formative years they react automatically, by unconscious imitation of those near and dear to them, too often without real regard for what these dear ones are saying. Thus, children are the product of adult emotional reactions to the daily forces of environment. Not until long after habit patterns have become unconscious do children learn a point of view which seems to explain them to themselves and to their world. The fact that there is an alarming increase in the maladjustment of children therefore indicates nothing concerning the inherent quality of the individual child but is, rather, indicative of the adult influences under which childhood lives its life of helpless subjection.

Society itself produces problem children. Maladjustment and delinquency are in the social order and children reflect them. There is a truth as old as written language and as trite as Aesop's Fables which declares that youth is naturally idealistic. Children are young youths, and abstract idealism passionately hungered for and broadly conceived, is an inevitable possession of normally awakening childhood intelligence. If the child of today seems not to express this glory of idealism it is because the adult

forces in his life furnish him only with warped or perverted ideations through which to direct his power of vision. A social, even criminal ideation, is a social malady. Children are more glaring exponents of it than adults, partly because their daring for the life adventure has suffered no intimidating shock and partly because they lack the understanding of the social mechanism which enables older exponents to evade detection and escape rebuke.

Far more than adults would generally concede, this lack of experience is what brings the child into conflict with the family and society or which produces abnormal reactions. The increasing maladjustment at present occupying public thought may be, moreover, less the fault of childhood than the product of a growing recognition on the part of adult society of its inadequacy to cope with the modern child in his world. It must become apparent to the thoughtful that much social unrest, uncertainty, and collapse is due to the inability of adults to adjust to the terrific change in the modern mechanized world; and this is the world into which children are born. The speed of modern transportation and communication machinery is their birthright. They have no sharp adjustments to make from an older, slower way of life. The pressure of centralizing civilization, product of industrial revolution, is natural to them. They hardly understand the adult recollection of a more diffused and agrarian way of living.

The intricacy of the modern mechanized social order does not appall the children born into it, but it does appall their parents who have been unable to adjust to its increasing intensity and speed. Thus, the most that can be said of maladjustment in the modern child is that it is often derived from parents or from environments which have been least able to adjust to the modern world. Nor can this be interpreted as showing any inferiority of character or capability in such children. There is too much truth in the old proverb which declares that adversity develops strength. It may even be significant to ponder whether or not maladjustment of the modern child may not ultimately prove to be his revolt against adult incapacity to deal with the mechanism it has created and called "civilization."

In a chapter of this length no adequate discussion of this point of view is possible. Space will permit little more than a few glaring and challenging assertions, the burden of proof for which

rests upon the enunciator of them. He believes that the proof will be found in a higher percentage of permanently adjusted children resulting from a method and technique based upon the point of view which these assertions indicate. They express the attitude and point of view underlying our work at Longview Farm.

To present the method of treatment at Longview Farm necessitates some general discussion. The aim is always to preserve a homelike, family atmosphere. In a heterogeneous group of 20 to 25 people this is not always easy. Its difficulties multiply when fourteen or more of the group are maladjusted boys with widely differing racial, family, and environmental backgrounds. The directors must not only create an *esprit de corps*, but must also maintain it. This requires unflagging vigilance and interest. Balances which are extremely subtle and obviously necessary can only exist if the authority inevitable in the home is preserved without destruction of the intimate commonality of life which is so vital to a family. Regimentation and routine for adult and child alike must be reduced to the lowest common denominator without allowing the apparent lack of disciplined performance to impair efficiency.

Nice gradations in disciplinary and governmental power must not be apparent among the adults of the group or felt to be a formal constant by the children. Unity of purpose, attitude, and point of view must keep the whole together as it does in any successful family. Here, however, the mighty factors of blood tie and deeply instinctive affection and loyalty are not the fusing power. Sharply defined, clear, vital concepts to which all can subscribe must be the substitutes. Thus, conceptions and beliefs inherent in and necessary to the social order wherever men live together become the framework of a family life. All of this is explained, interpreted, and illustrated for the adult group until a common attitude is constant.

Meanwhile a division of labor essential to the welfare of the household, while clearly defined, is held sufficiently elastic to permit interchange and cooperation such as is usual among the members of a typical family. This is achieved in part by the elimination of all ranking differentiation between cook and directress, farmer and director, loyalty to a common purpose being substituted for these institutional formalities. No task is

allowed to gain implied superiority, but all tasks, if necessary, are held equal and as deserving of the effort of one person as of another. If, for instance, the immediate demand is to clean a chicken house, the director may work as an equal partner in the task with the farmer and the boys. If consideration of a behavior problem is the paramount demand, the cook and the directress may share in it, the point of view of one as eagerly desired and as carefully regarded as is that of the other. Yet, that each has a special field of endeavor in which he excels is recognized not only as inevitable but as desirable, and any particular subject for decision is ultimately left to the person best able to render it wisely.

This is of course an abstract description of the way in which Longview is conducted. To say that a family atmosphere is perfectly maintained at the Farm would be absurd. The adult group is human and subject to the vacillation which any performance shows when it is governed by the intangible potentialities, the habits, and the personalities of men and women. The failures, variations, and faults, however, are also an integral element of typical family life, and, on the whole, no more exertion is required to maintain standards here than is needed elsewhere in organized endeavor.

When an agency plans to place a boy at Longview the agency visitor supervising the case presents to Longview Farm all the records of the case including the clinical diagnosis and prognosis. The case history is particularly regarded, since it serves to draw a picture of a personality and of the environmental factors influencing it. In every case any recommendations for treatment made by the referring agency are noted, but the directors reserve the privilege of complete freedom of action in carrying out these recommendations. The directors prefer to arrive at independent conclusions based on personal association with the boy.

The boy is introduced, not so much into a pattern of treatment already charted as into a free environment where he is given every opportunity to project his own treatment which will be determined by his reactions at Longview. He is not given intelligence tests, nor is he otherwise formally studied, but is welcomed as an ordinary person coming to live at the Farm. Frequently little more than introductions, which are accomplished by the visitor, occur before the boy is told to change into play clothes and look around the Farm. He is not made a subject of study by the

directors until his own behavior makes this necessary. He is then told that while the directors know his story and that of his family, nothing matters except what the boy does at Longview and how he does it. Study and treatment alike are dependent upon life at the Farm, rather than upon a boy's previous history. This method accomplishes the desirable result of reducing the boy's defenses against those mechanisms which society has devised to help him. As he develops confidence in those about him and comes to realize that others are sincerely trying to help him, he is led to an intimate and frank consideration of his past life. Only after weeks or months do the directors refer to agency records and the clinical diagnosis and prognosis of his case, and then only with a view to comparing these findings with knowledge gained of the boy at Longview. In almost all cases the clinical diagnosis is found to be accurate and the prognosis not unreasonable, although misinterpretations due to traditional points of view on the part of one or more adult observers are common in the records and have resulted in a misinterpretation of the boy's environmental history.

The procedures at Longview are based on the fact that for children there are roughly two types of recognizable authority. One is the authority innately functioning in family life. It is vested in the parents and to a varying degree in children in accordance with their seniority. This type, even the rebel child tacitly acknowledges, however he may offend it. It exists supported by the deep, unalterable truths of blood tie and intimate association. It is accepted as love is accepted, being, so to speak, part of the inheritance which every child feels to be his early in infancy.

The second type is the authority which is exercised by society and which has as its actuating motive security, or the assurance of the common weal. This type no child understands and no child is able to understand without explanation, interpretation, and teaching. It is known to him, felt to be present in the apparent order of the life around him, represented by street-car schedule, policeman, the regularity of work hours for adults, and school for himself; but he does not understand it. It is not intimately present in his personal reactions and if he happens to be asocial, maladjusted, or delinquent it is already, although he cannot often state the case, his enemy. He is opposed to it, a rebel. Whatever may have been his attitude at home, his removal to a foster

home represents the intervention by social authority, which to his dislike and to his stimulated fears seems to have power to defy or disregard the family authority which he has tacitly accepted. He is being punished. If his family have instigated his removal, then they have utilized social authority to achieve the punishment. If society removed him without the family having asked it, then the foster home is his place of exile. Even when, as is sometimes the case, he has repudiated parental government or when he has no home, the foster home still seems to him to menace his freedom of individual action. He does not know what it may be like. He is afraid of what it may do to interfere with him. His instinctive protectiveness is alert. He expects he knows not what, but almost surely something not quite favorable, and he is disposed to fight it.

The casual reception, the apparent indifference of these new adults of whom he is suspicious and from whom he expects unpleasant authority surprises him. He is sharply watchful to see how other boys feel. He finds them on an intimate, friendly, unobtrusively affectionate basis with the adults. Almost always he makes the first aggressive gesture toward closer relationship. Curiosity prompts him. He is, moreover, stimulated by that intense rivalry between all children. He must equal his peers, and they have a definite relationship with the adults. He must obtain it. He does so either through a natural childish approach, through a skinned finger needing attention, or through asocial behavior designed to force attention to his person. From the point of view of therapy one is not less desirable than another, since the desired result, that the advance or positive gesture come from him, is accomplished. He seeks the contact. Immediately he does so, he is carried as far as adult understanding and ability can manage, to a vital and lasting contact. Interpretation of his relationship commences at once. He is introduced to the authority which must and does exist at Longview Farm and which can be stated as follows: *Wherever a group of people live together, there must be authority.*

In effect it commands that each member of the group shall do his part to keep the union safe and happy. Thus the director no less than himself is under a commandment to do all he can to forward the common weal and to refrain from doing whatever he knows or feels clearly may threaten it. Obedience to this author-

ity is all that is expected of him. The obligation to adjust himself to social rather than asocial life is placed squarely upon the boy. He assumes the initiative for his future conduct and cannot pretend either to others or to himself that he is under external compulsion, hence free from responsibility for his position or for the unpleasantness in it. His behavior, not an act of adult will, brought him to Longview, and his behavior will determine not only what happens but the duration of his stay. No fixed set of rules is furnished him, to which mechanical obedience will gain him freedom. Rather, the responsibility to think out and force his own behavior is squarely on his shoulders.

Each boy is allotted specific tasks which are his daily duty, and it is explained to him with an amount of detail and illustration which sometimes seems endless that he is given these tasks not because anyone wants to make him work or as punishment, but because any member of a group must be willing to share in the activities from which desirable results accrue. Does he want to eat? Of course. Then food must be purchased, prepared, cooked, served, and the dishes must be washed. Someone has to do these things. No one can expect to enjoy eating unless he will do his share, whatever that may be. If he refuses it, it is pointed out to him that no one else will cook for him or do his dishes unless he will cooperate. Food will not be provided for him.

Not infrequently the youthful rebel tries this out to see if what is told him is intended. More often, however, he yields reluctantly to an agreement that he will do his share. Reluctance is sometimes ignored, but sooner or later it is dealt with. The method is designed to show the boy that his performance lacks essential qualities which contribute to the general welfare and that unless he can remedy the situation it must be handled from outside himself. If he is unwilling, for example, to wash the dishes clean and is thus forcing others to eat from unclean plates, it must be because he needs experience. If necessary, he can be allowed to wash the dishes over and over until he knows how to get them clean. If, however, he does not clean them because he does not care to, others who want dishes clean can do them for him, but he must repay them by assuming responsibility for their tasks and will thus find that he has more to do.

The consistent effort is to place the boy in a position which requires that social initiative come from him as a means of

providing for himself the greatest good at the least cost in whatever he regards as unpleasant. The aim is to teach him that only by obedience to social weal can he hope to derive the benefits of social living. The obligation and responsibility are his, and to evade them is in the nature of self-punishment. All punishment is brought upon him by himself, not imposed by disapproving adults. Here, whether in a day or after months, begins interpretation of another principle: *Justice*.

It is evident that in general the Longview method may be called an educative technique. It is so intended because it is the belief of the directors that children are overwhelmed by the complexity of modern society and even under the most favorable circumstances are subject to elaborate misunderstanding and misinterpretation of it. Maladjusted children emphasize these misinterpretations and behave more violently because of environmental situations calculated to stress misunderstandings. Childhood's conception of justice, for example, is a primitive conception. It is always biased in favor of the self. Thus, when in return for a wrong he has committed he receives what he would call a "break" he feels that justice is done. When, on the contrary, he feels that a wrong is done him, he regards justice as accomplished when he has enacted vengeance sufficiently to satisfy his instinctive rebellion against injury or pain. At Longview justice is construed to mean a reciprocal "square deal." The boy cannot expect to receive more of a "break" from his associates than he is willing to give. Thus his behavior is only acceptable to the degree that he can purchase its acceptance through conformity to the common good. If he menaces the weal of all or threatens the liberty of any individual within the group, he has invited curtailment of his freedom, challenged unpleasant experience. To receive a "square deal," he must give it. Justice is not a principle by which he can profit or a name he can apply to vengeance, but is essentially a quality he must create. To know justice he must be just. The responsibility for his own experience of justice rests with him and upon him.

This point of view is patiently, repeatedly interpreted, and the boy's behavior at the moment when the issue arises is utilized to illustrate the interpretation. It is always assumed, however stubbornly fact contradicts the assumption, that misunderstanding



ing explains the boy's behavior and that understanding will lead him to be just. Meanwhile, because this is not only an assumption technically practiced but a conviction largely supported by experience, and because humanity is scarcely capable of consistent justice, the effort to develop a large and practical conception of it in the youthful mind affords the richest of opportunities to develop another vital and necessary social principle: *Tolerance*.

That tolerance and mercy, or forgiveness, are principles abundantly illustrated should hardly be emphasized, since it is obvious that living family style with 14 or more maladjusted boys makes frequent and vivid demands upon adults to practice them. Without cant, sentimentality, or untherapeutic moralizing, every incident of daily life is utilized to interpret the social meaning and intent of such qualities. Tolerance is taught assiduously and the teaching is tempered with a sterner stuff because no boy is allowed to use this principle to evade another. Tolerance is given and expected. Indulgence never is.

Outside the window as this is being written two boys are making cider at a cider press. Presently one of them, whose pattern is well known, will dash in with a glass of his produce. He will not stop because the typewriter is busy, but will demand to know if cider is desired. He will be told, "No, thank you, I should like to write undisturbed. I know you want your cider sampled, but I must finish this chapter." And the interruption will be utilized to teach a lesson in mutual freedom and suffering. Care will be taken, however, to make clear to him that no criticism of his motive is implied. No condemnation of his personality is intended. He made a mistake in the choice of time and occasion, that was all. His motive was good, actuated by socially desirable feelings of generosity, kindness, and pride in achievement, and the mistake was merely self-expression without regard for the equal right and earnestness of another pursuing his expression.

A boy may steal a coin from another lad, himself not over-scrupulous in matters of private property. The complaint of loss will be regarded carefully. The thief will be discovered. Called to a conference in private, he will be asked why he took the money. No moral condemnation will be expressed, but a detailed discussion of his feelings when his property is stolen

will lead at last to the inescapable, albeit reluctant admission by him that he dislikes having his money stolen. He will then be called upon to justify performing an act against another which he dislikes when he becomes the victim. He will not be allowed to evade the blunt reality of his position. He will be held to the fact until he sees himself in the same light in which he would regard a thief of his property and he will be held minutely to reparation either through restoration of the stolen money or through hard, unpleasant work until he earns the sum required to pay the debt. He will be reasoned with until he agrees that justice exacts this in full. Does he possess the ability and the desire to be just? He will meet the challenge.

Then the other boy will be called to a private conference and held to a discussion which will lead him to admit that there is something incompatible in his attitude toward his own stealing with his resentment of another boy's stealing. He will be paid in full and it will be freely admitted that he was right to object, but if he objects how can he also justify his own stealing?

Thus the patient process of understanding and interpreting social standards and educating an asocial boy to understand them, their origins, purposes and functions will go on. It may take years to establish social in place of antisocial attitudes and to assist the boy to develop a positive, self-sustaining social way of life generated from within upon a basis of understanding. That, however, is the essence of the Longview method, and it is a method as varying in emphasis and aim as are the problem personalities upon whom it is practiced. The individuality of every boy is respected. *Not to fit him to a mold but to develop him into an individual assuming social responsibility for himself is the ideal sought for.*

Condemnation upon moral grounds is avoided. This is because the directors wish to have the cooperation of the boy in the work of adjustment, and condemnation of him tends to place him instinctively in opposition to those who express it. Within himself he feels beyond all challenge that he is more good than bad. His actions may be bad, but he feels convinced that he is not, as he would say, "too bad." Accepting this evaluation, he is confronted with the relentless evidence which will not allow him to believe one way and behave another. The process is interpretive, a matter of leading the boy to understand

not only motive and action but the need to make these harmoniously acceptable to his fellow men if, as he surely does, he wants to enjoy life among mankind.

The objection will perhaps be made that this brief description is theoretical. It is, however, a *method*. If it appears as theory, the reason is that the critic is seeking rules by which to work unerringly with human beings. No specifics are possible which guarantee success. The method is, moreover, psychological rather than materialistic. Formulated routine, standardized performance in relation to the child will never produce large success.

It may also be pointed out that no place in this method is given to moral and religious training. The directors believe that to train social behavior is to train moral behavior. Questions of religious code, creed, and doctrine and the relation of morality to these are questions to be dealt with by the church rather than the social worker.

Description of the Longview method, at best too limited by space to be more than an outline, cannot be concluded without a word about the physical aspects of the environment. The effect of these upon the life of any individual is scarcely measurable. Longview is a farm having orchards to tend, cows to milk, and all the multiple activities of rural home life fronting the economics of the present agricultural problem. In all of this busy and intense activity the boys share fully. They are allowed to hear and to share in discussions of cost, profit and loss, and to ask whatever questions may occur to them. Their lives are productive, creative, responsible; above all, responsible, for it is in full assumption of responsibility for their relationships in this and in the larger group, the town, the state, the nation, that they develop the compelling urge to be not antisocial but social personalities.

They attend the town schools, hear the town politics and problems of taxation discussed, share in all the life of the home and the community indeed as fully as is possible with a minimum of routine, rule, and regulation throughout. This, of course, exacts vastly more persistent, consistent effort from the adult group than would a more regimented system, but Longview Farm is an experiment in specialized foster-home care. To subject it to regimentation would be to make of it an institution.

The most important aspect of the physical environment is the supervision and control of diet. Almost every boy arrives at Longview Farm showing the effects of malnutrition or of equally unhealthy effects due to the neglect, indifference, or ignorance of his parents. Poverty sometimes accounts for the condition, but often it is traceable to the inability or the unwillingness of adults to compel healthy food habits, especially when dietary discipline is resented by the boy. Often the first revolt at Longview Farm occurs because a new boy finds that he cannot ignore the healthful foods, accustomed as he is to feed largely upon starches, bread, and cake. Nutritional values are explained, the functions of metabolism interpreted, and reasons for insistence upon a balanced diet are patiently given.

Meanwhile table habits are quietly and inconspicuously taught. Monthly height and weight charts are kept, their purpose explained, and the process of taking them is made a cheerful opportunity for much instruction as to growth and health. Results are sometimes startling. One outstanding case is that of a boy who arrived at Longview with a record showing that his basal metabolism was 30 per cent subnormal. Retested after six months, he was found to be normal, and continued improvement has eliminated the threat of hypopituitarism.

The psychological value in all this nutritional work cannot be overstressed. Adjustment to regular, healthy eating is a tremendous factor in adjustment of general behavior. One sometimes wonders at the interest and enthusiasm of the boys for this aspect of their lives. From the beginning of the experiment, for instance, Health Products Corporation has supplied unlimited quantities of cod liver oil concentrate in the form of tablets. These insure the boys an abundance of Vitamins A and D. The maladjusted boy might be expected to rebel against what he calls "pills" as a regular feature of his meal. He is told that these are food and that his body derives from them exactly the same needed values that are furnished by many other foods. The reasons for adding them to the diet are elaborated. It is pointed out that there is seldom any kind of illness in the group and that Longview boys are out of school because of colds much less than town boys, although they play out-of-doors during inclement weather more than their associates. Without exception, in three years of experience the boys not

only take the tablets but show pride in their place in the diet. Complaints are heard if the supply happens to run out before more are obtained.

The general results of the dietetic work are shown in the fact that while living in family style for more than three years only one case of mumps, three cases of chicken pox, and a few casual colds are thus far recorded. At the same time, despite unfortunate nutritional backgrounds the boys show growth exceeding the standard set by the American Child Health Association. The boys grow faster and taller than might be expected, their growing period covering more months of each year, while throughout weight is kept within 10 per cent of the norm for a given height.

Such facts shed startling light upon the need for trained control of dietary habits in the work of adjusting the problem boy. As only three and one-half years have elapsed since the commencement of this work, no definite conclusions are available. The directors feel, however, that despite not unexpected failure, results will ultimately show that at least 60 per cent of the boys will prove to be acceptable personalities adjusted to our society.

Earlier in this chapter it was stated that cases at Longview are divided into three general types: the socially maladjusted, those who are the product of family maladjustments, and those having personality problems. The following illustrations present a summary view of each. Allowing for the fact that treatment must necessarily be individualized, it is important to remember that the generalized aspects of the treatment technique as previously presented were found to be effective with all these types:

*Case I. Social Maladjustment.* Scoot was a diminutive, undernourished blond boy of twelve. His father was dead. His foreign mother spoke little English and was a charwoman. There was a drunken stepfather who lived largely upon the meager earnings of the mother and Scoot's sister, with whom the stepfather had forced a sexual relationship.

Scoot was referred to a clinic for study by the Juvenile Court, where he was charged with every kind of delinquency including theft, sex play with both girls and boys, and willful destruction of property. He came to Longview with the added information that this criminal ideation was

thorough and extensive. He was stubborn, refused to talk, and was wholly uncooperative.

Speedily, indeed, Scoot challenged the directors of Longview. He was aggressively fighting toward supremacy among the boys. He was indeed speechless when conversation was attempted. It became apparent, however, that his refusal to talk was in large part due to his temperament and background. He was inarticulate and kept silent, not because of criminal ideation so much as because he either did not know what to say or feared to attempt interpretation of himself with his limited English vocabulary.

At the end of fifteen months Scoot was still dominating the group of boys, but his leadership was constructive. He learned to talk about himself, although much that an articulate child would have said was tacitly assumed to be understood. He was analytical, however, and said that he wanted to "go straight." He stated that he knew he could do so anywhere except in his own home and locality.

His agency took him home, intending to place him later in a less expensive foster home. The boy opposed replacement, however, and his mother refused her consent. He is now at home and thus far he has committed no asocial act. His behavior reflects sound and vigorous acceptance of social standards, his misbehavior being merely the unimportant mischief of any boy of keen mind and healthy body. He is aware, also, that such mischief may be readily misinterpreted by those who remember his former escapades. He is, therefore, surprisingly guarded, exercising great control for a boy of his age of all play activities. He is barely thirteen years old.

The directors are maintaining contact with him and he has recently stated that he believes he can "get by" even in "de dump where I am." He and his brother are making model airplanes of balsa wood, delicately beautiful toys, some of which they have sold for as much as two dollars.

*Case II. Family Maladjustment.* Joe came to Longview, a desperate, undernourished vagrant of thirteen, often making one think of a frightened wild animal. He was rejected by his mother and stepfather. Other relatives would not house him. He slept out, being fed by a half brother and an aunt who smuggled food to him when other members of the family did not know. He stole and was known to the police, who, also aware of his history, chose to wait deliberately for an offense which would enable them to "put him away permanently."

He was an illegitimate child and knew this. For two years he had spied upon his mother, stolen old letters, and otherwise tried to discover his paternal parentage. He had not succeeded. His family would not tell him, because his father was his grandfather. The latter had deserted his wife when the boy was born to his daughter.

During two years of trying life at Longview Farm the boy vacillated between heroic efforts at adjustment and frenzied outbreaks of misbehavior. He was, however, increasingly able to maintain new standards of behavior and attitude. This was noticed as the problem of adjusting him to the facts of his birth was gradually worked out by the directors. He was told who his father was and allowed to discover his own proofs of the truth of the information. He was then guided through months of intermittent discussion of social taboos, the development of monogamic standards, the reactions of ancient and modern peoples (including the Orient, Egypt, and Greece) to incest. Finally he was led to see that his relationships with people would rest much more surely upon their feeling toward him personally than upon their prejudices and convictions concerning incest and legitimacy.

At the end of two years Joe chose to return to his home town to show them "I can live right and look them in the eye." He grew impatient over delays in arranging this and left Longview to do it for himself.

Two years have elapsed since then. He has lived part of this time among his relatives and part of it at Longview Farm. At his request the referring agency closed his case, so that when he is at Longview he works his way. He is increasingly steadfast in his expression of social standards and in his ability to live true to his surprisingly high ideals. He is frank, courageous, and unashamed concerning his birth, saying, "I can't change that, but I can be a man and I am one."

Both the clinic where he was studied and Longview Farm regard Joe as heroically and brilliantly accomplishing his difficult adjustment. His family also feels that he is desirable. They are willing to house him if and when he can pay his board, which he does whenever he visits them.

*Case III. A Personality Problem.* This case is presented because not only does it illustrate a type but it also indicates the confusion too often apparent among the adults working with such maladjustments.

Dan was undernourished, nervous, desperate, a red-faced, futile child of whom police despairingly said nothing, only tapping their foreheads with a significantly expressive finger; while teachers who had known him through four grades and a half of public school pronounced him hopeless and the worst child they had ever known. It was the opinion of all of them that Dan should be committed to an institution for psychopaths.

To this opinion an ignorant but affectionate mother reluctantly bowed, as did also the uneducated, intelligent father. The father was one of the legion of workers who had started proudly to support a growing family as a teamster. Time brought nine children to be fed and sheltered, but changing times also substituted automotive for horsepower. The family was defeated and the father knew it. He was

willing to work at anything, but so were thousands like him. There wasn't work enough for all.

Meanwhile, Dan became the concentration point for all the family anxieties and frustrations. At the age of three he had scarlet fever and, to quote the mother, "never after did he come right in the head." Dan was cared for, guarded, talked to, and talked about. Even younger children were admonished to take care of Dan. He could not dress himself. He could not go out alone. He was helpless in all things, and yet Dan could and did develop astonishing capacities. If his guardians released his hand for a moment Dan vanished. He could hop a truck and ride. Dan was known to every police station within thirty miles of his home.

He could steal and he could lie. Indeed, his capacity to tell amazing tales was startling. He enjoyed their effect, deriving unnatural glee from the reactions of adults to his unique accounts of his actions and his reasons for them. He could not keep his shoes tied nor his shirt inside his pants, but he could play jokes, revolting, sometimes Rabelaisian jokes on people. Before his eleventh year he had fallen from trucks and had suffered broken bones and head injuries, and he laughed incomprehensibly when he was asked about these accidents. He was finally studied at a clinic with a view to commitment to an institution.

The diagnosis indicated that he was a hypopituitary case, traumatic, and the prognosis was poor. Tests showed his basal metabolism to be 30 per cent subnormal. Yet, unlike typical hypopituitary cases, he was not overweight, but thin, nervous, and appallingly active.

For six months the dietician controlled his food rigidly, supervising not only what he ate but the quantities. At the end of this time tests were taken which showed that his basal metabolism was normal. Subsequent development in puberty removed the last possible doubt that Dan was safely past the likelihood of suffering from hypopituitarism. He was physically well.

Daily study of the boy's reactions indicated that he was, of course, escaping overwhelming inferiorities by means of a life of fantasy so wild, adventurous and odd as to represent a marvelous achievement in imagination. There seemed some hope that, while forcing him despite his fears and inferiorities to develop useful control of his hands, insight into the nature of his fantasies could be obtained. If this in turn could be wisely interpreted it might become possible to direct his fantasies so that they gradually converged upon reality. The time might then come when his fantasy life and the life of reality would fuse with the result that Dan's imagination would become a potent factor in his integrated living.

This was undertaken, but the process proved slow indeed. Dan would never tell what he thought, and he very seldom yielded any



information as to why he acted as he did. Indications could be gathered only by watching him when he did not feel himself to be under observation, listening to his talks among boys when he did not think he was within reach of adult ears, and venturing interpretations from such evidence.

There still remained the task of directing his fantasy life, however, and this was even more uncertain, more slow. Three years of work, interrupted by frequent running away, long periods of noncooperation, and every defensive obstacle Dan could create, brought him to a state of physical efficiency in which he began to take pride. The same period, always utilizing his bodily improvement as the substance of the suggested fantasy, gave some control of his imaginative life. Dan finished grammar school as president of his class and on the honor roll. He worked at many tasks, often difficult ones. His fantasy life became practically focused upon a single adventure, namely, a trip by truck into the wilderness north of Quebec, Canada. Dan was far from stable, far from safe, but improvement was so marked that those who viewed him as a mental case and who had known him in daily contact were thrilled and perhaps overoptimistic.

During the three years of work with him at Longview Farm, Dan had three visitors from the referring agency. The last of the three regarded Dan as a behavior problem. Clinic and Longview alike argued that he was improved but still unstable and advised the agency to carry the work with him through high school at least. Otherwise, it was pointed out, the three years of work and expenditure would be practically wasted as it seemed scarcely probable that Dan could survive if thrown back into the family patterns in the slum environment. Nevertheless, Dan was allowed to go home for two weeks' trial, the visitor holding that his place was at home. During the visit Dan stole candy from a truck. He was returned to Longview. Two days later, however, and within a week of the actual fulfillment of his dream of a truck trip into Canada, where all the boys were going for a vacation, Dan was taken away again, "as a punishment for his stealing at home."

Within two months Dan ran away three times from other foster-home placements. He grew defiant and was left in his own home. The agency closed the case as hopeless and Dan was soon under a suspended sentence to the reform school.

The directors of Longview unhesitatingly agree today with the clinical prognosis of three years ago—"poor."

In the light of the experience thus far gained at Longview in treating problem boys, we have arrived at the inescapable conclusion that further progress is dependent upon more scrupu-

lous and accurate standards by which to evaluate results and some definitive method of differentiating between the socially maladjusted child and the one who is a problem because of a personality difficulty or a mental deviation. Looking toward some such definite information, an auditing system has been established at Longview. During the coming winter a complete study of the records on all boys who have lived at Longview Farm will be undertaken.<sup>10</sup> Approximately fifty cases will be studied. An able committee of social workers will cooperate in this research.

The most perplexing aspect of such an auditing system is, of course, the formulation of criteria by which to measure failure or success. An obvious line of differentiation is, "Has the child continued delinquent behavior after dismissal?" But, human behavior is always variable. Differences in environment as well as in the personality of children compel an elasticity in standards of appraisal. More significant still is the fact, too often ignored, that the interpretation of a child's behavior rests primarily with the adults among whom he lives. The variables are complex and baffling, and adult evaluations differ as widely and as subtly as do individual points of view and emotional responses to a given situation. Oftentimes they are not more reliable than are the interpretations of his own behavior offered by a child.

What then, becomes the measure of success? The maintenance of socially acceptable behavior in his own home and community is important. The social desirability of his home and community, however, can always be debated and will almost certainly be evaluated in terms of personal, ethical, and social conception, prejudice and belief. Apprehension for nonconformity to law or the avoidance of it would seem to be the only fixed criteria available, but this is clearly a dubious, indeed dangerous, measure of work in the adjustment of the delinquent child. Research might disclose, for instance, more widespread repetition of cases such as the following:

A boy was taken from a home which, like its environment, reflected all the glaring aspects of slum conditions. It was, moreover, a home where the standards of honesty were less

<sup>10</sup> By Miss Dorothy Smithson. For this purpose the Children's Mission to Children of Boston has generously contributed the use of an office room.

ethical than tactical, since to be honest meant not to be caught stealing. The boy was placed away from home for a long time. He gained experience which enabled him to appraise the deficiencies of his own home; that is, he acquired physical, mental, and spiritual habits and aspirations from his foster home which made his own home and community unpleasant to him. Returned to them, he deliberately behaved in a way which he believed would force his removal.

Would such cases be evaluated as failures in adjustment? If so, must the social worker aim to teach such children to fit without friction or resentment into whatever may be their environmental background? The point is extreme, but it is actual and serves to illustrate one vital aspect of the problem.

Social work among delinquent children shows alarming need of definition of its true objectives. This need is reflected throughout the foster-home system in the types of homes selected and in the duration of placements as well. In spite of these perplexities, however, it is believed that the proposed system of audit of all cases known to Longview Farm will furnish a well-defined measure of the effectiveness of the method. It is probable that it will provide data bearing upon problems inherent in the foster-home system. Almost every child, for instance, comes to Longview Farm with the experience of two or more previous placements behind him. What is the effect of each of these upon him? Not infrequently a boy will say, "Well, Gees, I don't know what to think. Mrs. D. says this and Mrs. B. says that, and now you tell me. . . ." Two homes may be equally desirable as factors or spheres of influence, but due to the differing reactions, beliefs, and prejudices of the component personalities, they cannot be identical either in emphasis or atmosphere.

A careful study of the cases thus far treated at Longview should serve as a further step toward the answer to the questions that are in the minds of those who are struggling with the problem of attempting to prevent the development of criminal careers. Meanwhile, Longview Farm is a reality and is making its service felt in the community from which it draws its cases.

## Chapter XV

### EDUCATIONAL EXPERIMENTATION WITH PROBLEM BOYS AT CHILDREN'S VILLAGE, DOBBS FERRY, NEW YORK

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The Children's Village at Dobbs Ferry, New York, is a community of twenty children's homes, or cottages, located on a 250-acre plot of land overlooking the Hudson. The institution, which is internationally known, has for eighty years been working with problem boys. Children from eight to sixteen are sent from the Children's Courts of New York and twenty-seven other states. The average enrollment is about 450. The physical plant includes ten classrooms for academic work, a science laboratory, seven vocational shops, a small library, an auditorium, two music rooms, an art studio, and spacious playgrounds. One might mention, too, the truck garden, the greenhouse, the stable, the laundry, the bakery, and the central-heating and lighting plant, since they, also, provide useful occupation quite as educational in nature as the more formal instruction of classrooms and shops. The Village is equipped with a sociological clinic, a progressive educational program, and a program of social activities. There is an infirmary, a resident physician, and a dentist on half time.

Children's Village is an institution for what is legally termed the juvenile delinquent, which is another way of saying that it is a place of training for the problem child, or a laboratory for correct-

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EDITORS' NOTE.

ing ills resulting from social maladjustment. Its rehabilitation program is intended to serve three purposes: the reclamation and reforming of the inmates committed; continuous experimentation in the field of juvenile maladjustment; and placing at the disposal of school systems and other social agencies the results of studies made at Children's Village. The educational policy of the Village is based on the assumption that a child's every experience and every personal contact has some educational influence on him for better or worse. This assumption entails careful selection of the official personnel at the Village, thoughtful analysis of work assignments, scientific application of remedial measures, and meticulous oversight of the way in which all activities, no matter how seemingly unimportant, are carried to conclusion. It entails also the constant services of a psychiatrist, a physician, a dentist, an optometrist, nurses and dietitian, in addition to those of teachers and cottage masters or matrons.

Boys between the ages of six and sixteen, if not mentally defective or physically abnormal, may, when adjudged delinquent by the courts of the state, be committed to Children's Village. The Village also accepts boys privately who are beyond parental control. The inmate population consists of about 400 youths, most of whom are between ten and sixteen years of age, with a few under and a few over these age limits. The younger boys go to school five full days each week the year around, except for holidays, and do chores about their cottage homes. The older boys attend school half the day and vocational shops half the day on a year-around program. They vary the shop training with applied vocational training in repairs to plant equipment, or in the construction of a building which is being erected or remodeled. The few who are over sixteen follow a work program suited to their maturity, being in charge of job assignments either singly or with others, and attend school half a day each week. The half-day-each-week session for the older boys is optional, but all choose to attend.

For administrative purposes the institution maintains four general divisions:

The Welfare Department fosters the social life of the children in their cottages and their numerous clubs; works with the assistant managing director in religious activities and with the Educational Department on plans, musical events, and sports; receives and

directs visitors around the Village; keeps records of the boys' and girls' correspondence; and buys personal things for individual boys.

The Institution Department supervises the home life of the children, attends to the maintenance of the buildings and grounds, handles the discipline outside of school, directs the operation of the merit and junior systems, and sponsors the Senior and Graduate clubs.

The Psychiatric Clinic has charge of the preexamination of applicants for enrollment in the Village; the general psychological and physical examinations after admission; the gathering of a social history of each child previous to his enrollment in the Village; the periodic checkups on each child while in the Village and after he or she leaves; the special treatment of underweight children, enuresis, and those with other chronic ailments; and the routine physical care of the children.

The Educational Department has charge of the academic and vocational training of pupils. It seeks to arouse the interest of each individual in his own progress and to foster more favorable attitudes toward school, teachers, and comrades. To this end the educational deficiencies of each pupil are diagnosed and various remedies are applied in the hope that school achievement may be brought up to the same level as native ability. The curriculum is planned to enrich experience, release powers of expression, provide worthy interests for leisure time, and equip older boys with fundamental training in some useful trade. The teachers furnish reports on school progress to the social workers, to the public, and to the school when a child enters and leaves the Village. They keep comprehensive records of all phases of the curriculum. Each teacher is sponsor or next best friend to fifteen or twenty boys whose adjustment to the total life of the Village is carefully observed by her.

The management of Children's Village considers that it has a dual responsibility, that to its charges and that to society at large. This responsibility has three major aspects: the custodial, the reconstructional, and the experimental.

There is no special reason for discussing the custodial feature in this chapter. Mere housing and feeding is the least important service relatively, and the procedures appertaining thereto are very much the same as in other high-grade institutions for

juveniles. It is worthy of mention, however, that the cottages have an atmosphere unusual in institutions of detention—an atmosphere of friendliness, hopefulness, and spontaneity.

It is, however, in the fields of reconstruction and experiment that Children's Village ventures to make its most valuable contribution. The boy who is committed to Children's Village is regarded as a case for individual observation while there and, afterwards, until he becomes twenty-one years of age. His family history is carefully studied. Information is gathered relative to his neighborhood associations, his school, and his contacts with established authority. When he enters, he is examined by the psychiatrist, the psychologist, the physician, the dentist, and the director of education. Each in turn prescribes such remedial and reconstructional applications as the case seems to demand. These same officials meet weekly as a "Guidance Committee" to decide the first placement of newcomers and periodic changes of program thereafter. The Guidance Committee decides the cottage household which each boy will enter or remain a member of, the vocational work which he will pursue, and the academic school group of which he will be a part. Serious matters of discipline are referred to this committee, since they usually arise from pathological conditions, either mental or physical, and to be effectively checked must be approached scientifically.

The boy of Children's Village lives with a small group of fifteen or twenty other boys of his own age. He studies, reads, plays, and works in a shop to learn a trade. He studies nature at firsthand; he belongs to a scout troop; he visits museums and near-by points of historic interest. He even goes to the circus when it comes to town if some generous benefactor invites him. After his progress has seemed to justify it, he is permitted to spend an occasional vacation of a few days with relatives, provided the relatives are found to be of a responsible character. So far as is possible, he is built up physically. He is given a chance to earn a little money and thus learns what it means to get money honestly and spend it wisely. Every attempt is made to provide normal-boy experience as an offset to his abnormal tendencies.

Before the boy returns to his home, or if he is placed in a foster home, the officials of the Village verify, by visit and inquiry, the suitability of the home for his domicile. If the boy is returning to

public school, his prospective teachers are interviewed. If he must go to work, the institution finds employment for him or ascertains definitely that a position awaits him. Oversight does not cease even then, but is continued by means of visitors until the institution's moral support is no longer required.

The most distinctive features of the institutional policy that seem to have evolved are:

1. A 24-hour program for each child.
2. A definite educational program throughout the 52 weeks of the year.
3. Homogeneous groupings in formal instruction, in cottage life, and recreation.
4. A program sufficiently elastic to permit of frequent change from class to class or shop to shop.
5. Study of personality problems.
6. Individual treatment.
7. Physical rehabilitation.
8. A continual measurement of results.
9. Employment of progressive educational methods.
10. Close cooperation among all who touch the life of the child at different points—in clinic, school, shop, playground, cottage, club, and Sunday school.
11. Sympathetic and comradely relationships between the young people and their superiors.
12. The friendly spirit of the institution.
13. A "school side" of their community life which children of the Village enjoy.
14. Provision of wholesome home atmosphere which is indispensable to the life of any child and which few predelinquents have ever known.
15. Aftercare follow-up of those who leave the Village.
16. Superior teachers.
17. Teacher training.

These features imply four major emphases: (1) close collaboration of clinic, school, and cottage; (2) curriculum building; (3) teacher training; (4) testing and recording:

In October, 1927, the Child Welfare League of America made a study of the intake problems of the Village. This study, financed by the Commonwealth Fund, was conducted by a staff of specialists in social and psychiatric work and extended from



the beginning of November, 1927, to the end of February, 1928. It was followed by the establishment of a Social Service Department in the Village, with a psychiatrist at its head. He is assisted by a psychologist, a placement director, and five social workers.

It has been found, however, that despite the diagnostic work of the clinic, the stimulating experience of classroom and shop, the kindly atmosphere of the cottage and the thoughtful adjustments of the guidance committee, certain personalities persistently elude and appear to baffle all corrective effort. Such cases require concentrated individual study and treatment. They must be observed unobtrusively in all Village situations. What is learned of the individual by the clinic or school or cottage may be used to be interpreted to the other two. It may be that a highly personal touch is needed; perhaps a physical or emotional disturbance which has escaped the experts needs to be discovered in the daily round of living. It must be realized that many of these ten- or twelve-year-olds have already lived hard lives.

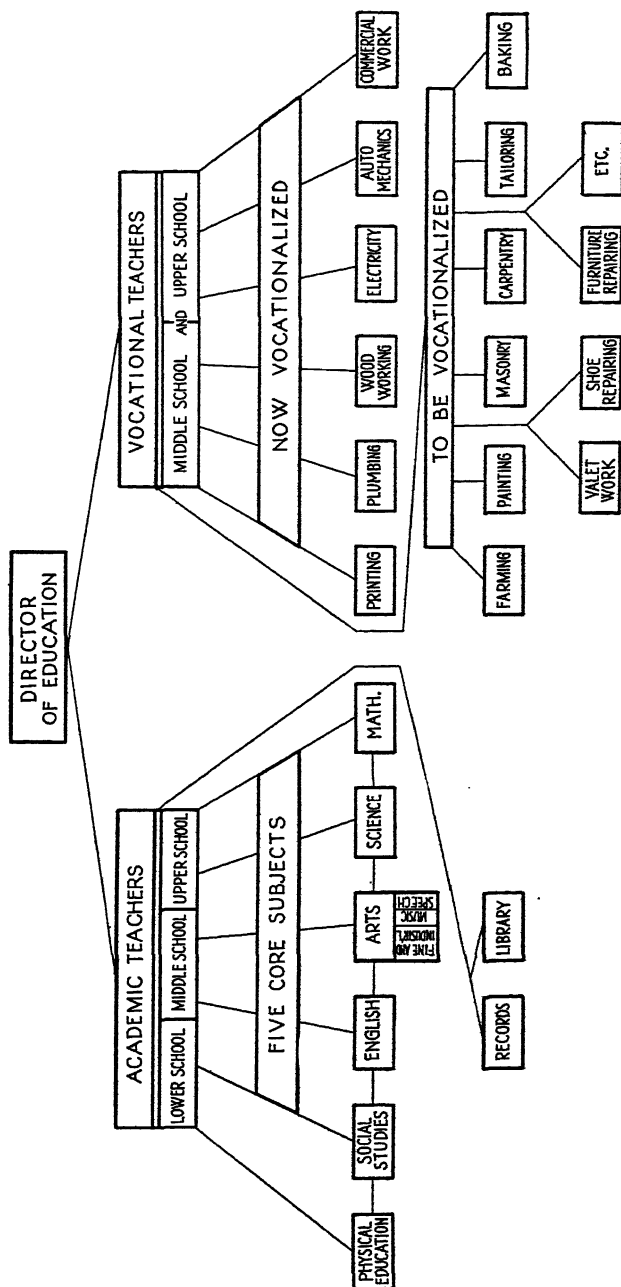
In 1929 the trustees of Children's Village ordered a survey to be made of its existing educational facilities and operations. The trustees invited Dean John W. Withers of the New York University School of Education to direct the survey, and he recommended such changes as the findings of the survey seemed to warrant. The recommendations were adopted as presented. This survey, like the previous one, was financed by the Commonwealth Fund, and the same foundation aided substantially in the reorganization of a program designed to follow recommendations of the survey. This radically reorganized program was initiated in 1931 and is still in process of construction. The vocational work has been expanded, the academic work has been enriched, and the teaching staff has been doubled in number. New equipment has been added, and the library has been increased.

The chart shows how the academic and vocational aspects of the program are integrated and indicates the rich variety of the joint curriculum.

As will be seen, the new program includes several innovations which differ from current practices in the public school, but which are quite in accord with the theories of our more advanced

# ORGANIZATION OF EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

CHILDREN'S VILLAGE DOBBS FERRY, N. Y.



educational leaders. As Commissioner Graves<sup>1</sup> remarked during a conference with the trustees of the Village, "You seem to be *doing* what progressive educators are *talking* about doing." The following features of the educational program deserve emphasis:

a. All long vacations are eliminated from the educational schedule. The educational program is continuous throughout the year except for occasional short recesses.

b. There are no grade designations. Classes are formed on a basis of three considerations—chronological age, mental ability, and past school achievement. Under such a system, a boy finds himself in a group whose members are about his own age and of about the same ability, and with about the same previous school experience. This tends to lessen school dissatisfactions.

c. The groups themselves are small. There are, on an average, eighteen pupils in a class, and transfers from one group to another may be made at any time. Because the groups are small, the atmosphere of the classrooms can be friendly and informal. The absence of fixed seats and desks seems further to remove any sense of rigidity or repression.

d. All this tends to bring about only one rule of conduct—ordinary courtesy. One would be inclined to doubt that a class of incorrigibles, every one of whom was a problem and a "wrecker" in his previous school situation, would respond favorably where stern disciplinary controls were noticeably absent. They do respond, however. But no ordinary teacher is capable of bringing about the desired result; the teacher must be well trained, wise, patient, personally likable, quietly firm, sympathetic, but emotionally stable. Such teachers are difficult to procure but they are essential to the Children's Village experiment.

When the Village reorganized its educational program, customary grade designations were discontinued, and the pupils were regrouped on the basis of chronological age with intelligence and educational achievement as subsidiary factors. There then resulted about twenty elementary grades instead of the usual eight. Consequently, every boy is in a group of approximately eighteen pupils all of whom are nearly his own age, nearly his own mentality, and virtually his own academic status. Work is

<sup>1</sup> Of the New York State Department of Education.

departmentalized and the unit method of instruction is used. These innovations are not new in theory but they are new in practice, so it has been necessary for the teachers to learn how to teach under these novel conditions. So, too, they have had to select their own units, work out their own correlations, and build their own curricula.

Six objectives have been set up in the Village school to secure readjustment of the pupil to his academic work:

1. The *interest* of the pupil is to be aroused.
2. Unity is to be sought in the work of each group and each individual.
3. Skills and information taught are to be selected for their immediate *use* to him as a child and for their probable service in future vocational work or leisure pursuits.
4. Individual educational deficiencies are to be subject to *diagnosis* and *remedial treatment*.

5. Subject matter is to be selected and arranged so that it will parallel the main lines of the customary public-school course, in order to smooth *transfer adjustments*.

6. *Enrichment* of life for each individual is sought by making literature, art, music, dramatics, science, games, places, and current events a vivid part of the daily school work.

The first effort of the faculty is to arouse the pupil's interest in order to change his unfavorable attitude toward teachers, classrooms, books, and study. The friendly, informal manner of the teacher helps to convince the child that this person is not his enemy. The attractive appearance of the classroom tends to break down resistance, and the display of books and pictures may arouse interest. Short periods of study, guidance with encouragement, and motives that the pupil can understand make the business of learning less obnoxious. Most pupils respond to methods of teaching which are vivid and concrete. For the problem child activity is essential, and "learning by doing" is a necessity. He needs to *see* and *make* and *use* the thing studied instead of simply reading and talking about it. Experience may be a slower teacher and limit the amount of his learning, but she is usually a thorough teacher who will increase the range of his *understanding*.

The curriculum is organized around large units of work chosen frequently from the field of social studies, because vivid centers

in history and geography rouse group interest and draw material from various other subjects. Thus the pupils learn things in relationships, and this unity in their learning strengthens memory and understanding. The dull mind is typically poor at making connections. Therefore, the school program must be unified in order to strengthen associative learning. Excellent centers of work occur in science, English, music, and all other subject fields. Some of them are of short duration, while others continue to be of interest for months. Special teachers are alert to use materials that have the attention of the group at the moment, in order that the maximum amount of learning may take place at the time of keenest interest.

The Director of Education is a member of the Cabinet and of the Student Guidance Committee and cooperates with the Welfare Department on the social and recreation program. Thus through him the school is closely and continuously integrated with the institution as a whole.

The Village has adopted a teacher-training policy in conjunction with the School of Education of New York University. Senior students selected with the utmost care are sent by the School of Education to live at Children's Village for one full semester, devoting their full time, except for one lecture hour each week, to study of the Village, observation of the clinic, and practice teaching.

One of the most essential features of the reconstructive work at the Village is the wide use of tests. There are physical tests, mental tests, academic tests, mechanical aptitude tests, specific ability tests, and personality tests. These tests, with a fair admixture of general judgment, form the basis of the pupil's adjustments and readjustments within his life at the Village. The pupil is measured and tested and prescribed for in terms of his own possibilities, in terms of his social needs if he goes directly from the Village to employment, and in terms of his needs if he returns to a public school. He is tested when he enters, periodically while he remains, and immediately before he leaves the Village. There is nothing which warrants more care, discrimination, and judgment than a comprehensive system of tests and records.

The institution for juvenile delinquents has come to be commonly accepted as a social necessity. Its avowed purpose is

human rehabilitation to the end that the inmates will become self-supporting, law-abiding members of communities, with a reasonable sense of civic responsibility. But delinquency institutions, generally speaking, fall so far short of accomplishing the aim mentioned that the unprejudiced observer might suspect that the "avowed purpose" is not the actual reason for their existence. The actual reason might appear to be a mixture of pity and fear on the part of the public—pity which is a reflection of society's sensitiveness to human suffering, and fear lest the spawn of sordidness develop into beasts of prey. Therefore in almost all juvenile institutions, we find a reasonable amount of bodily comfort, as represented by food, clothing, and shelter. We also find fairly adequate provision for custody or detention. But a program for reshaping the warped personalities of the unfortunate inmates is too frequently lacking or relatively ineffective. Consequently, although many boys and girls have benefited by their connection with institutions, the returns are disturbingly small.

What are the results of the work of the Children's Village?

It is our earnest belief that in the 80 years of the existence of the Village, 40,000 former inmates have been aided to become good citizens. The educational experiment at Children's Village must in the last analysis be evaluated in terms of character development. Thus far no careful scientific study has been made to indicate specific outcomes of the experiment in terms of higher moral standards and more effective personal adjustment. But all of the testimony presented indicates that measurable progress will be revealed when adequate measures have been devised and applied.

The executive superintendent reports that prior to the new order the majority of disciplinary cases originated in classrooms, and that now fewer disciplinary cases originate in the formal-instruction groups than in any other field of activity in the Institution. The managing director says:

The boy who comes to the Village, usually, is at first antagonistic in a degree to every situation in which he finds himself. We find that the school as now carried on is one area in which conflict soon ceases. It is our experience that harmony or inharmony in one major field communicates itself to other phases of Village life.

Cottage masters report that small boys confined to the cottages by colds or other minor ailments are impatient for return to school. The educational director reports that when depression economy forced curtailment of the educational program for older boys last July and August these boys were resentful and said, "The kids get all the breaks"—an interesting reaction from consistent "school offenders." Last July the educational director reported:

The number of disciplinary cases decreased by a little more than 50 per cent between September and June, and the offenses for which the children are now reported are much milder and it is rare that a serious offense is reported. During the depression paroled boys of fifteen to eighteen have trudged their way back to the Village and have asked to be taken in and reassigned to shop and class. It is worth while to report, too, that 1,500 more books were drawn from the library than in the previous year, and the books were of a much better type.

Appreciable educational growth, as indicated by gain in intelligence quotients during the year June, 1934, to June, 1935, is also to be noted.

Another opinion expressed by several officials is that the younger boys are more responsible and make more definite progress than the older boys. In the case of the latter a long series of probations and suspended sentences appear to have been a disservice. Procrastination in the guise of charity is no curative of the social ills of youth.

The public at large does not express much confidence in juvenile correctional institutions. There is a feeling that they do not correct. So many of their graduates become gangsters and habitual criminals that these institutions appear like holding companies for reformatories and prisons. More and more we hear in charity circles that extravagant libel—"the worst family is better than the best institution." Those who have personal knowledge of reputable institutions know that they are not 100 per cent failures, nor nearly that.

The public complains of the slender return on its investment in the form of tangible results from an educational situation which promises so much. But the public evades its own responsibility in the matter. There is considerable evidence that if as much educational effort, inspirational leadership, wholesome and stimulating environmental influence and ingenuity were accorded

underprivileged youth as the more fortunately circumstanced, the returns would be relatively as satisfactory. At present the public ungrudgingly expends directly or indirectly more to make good citizens of those who will inevitably follow the civic patterns of their own law-abiding social group than upon those whose early impulsions are largely destructive and degenerative in character. In other words we spend for education not in proportion to needs but in progressive disproportion to the actual needs of those to be educated—the most for those least in need and the least for those whose essential needs are greatest. Juvenile institutions generally are underfinanced and underequipped. Society should honestly meet this issue, not so much for humane reasons as to protect its own health and well-being “from the pestilence that walketh in darkness” and “the destruction that wasteth at noonday.”

The trustees of Children's Village have launched a seemingly expensive enterprise for the public to support when compared with the ease of maintaining a mere “home,” or place of detention. But is it so expensive an experiment when we consider the potential gains both as concerns the population of the Village and, by demonstration, the rest of the country? What is the cost to the public of a laissez-faire policy in crime prevention? May I illustrate the staggering cost of crime by citing one true case, not in any way unique:

There was a boy, call him A, whose story runs thus: A drunken father; motherless at two; hunger and squalor in the home; after four, life on a slum street; littering; glass-breaking; pulling false alarms; mutilating public property; petty thieving; neglecting any education which would make him self-supporting; larceny; nineteen arrests and seventeen discharges; two short prison terms; bank robbery; jail break; mail robbery; bank robbery again; at twenty-nine, death to himself and two officers in a pistol duel. And the end is not yet—pensions for two families; younger associates in crime to catch the mantle of the fallen gang leader; glamorous tales of the tabloid and cinema to traduce others.

Today organized crime is so strong as to seem more powerful than organized government. Any who think of society's twilight zone as comprised exclusively of worthy poor, intent on improving their economic conditions by honest labor if permitted, are deluding themselves. Anyone who has had the opportunity to penetrate the psychology of certain dark areas of our popula-



tion is convinced that society will reap a whirlwind if certain danger signals are unheeded. A rapidly increasing group definitely intends to prey on the rest of society. This group definitely trains its recruits. There are young boys who come to institutions, who have decided upon crime as a vocation and who flaunt their intention to "carry on" regardless of the odds against them; and they are wise beyond their years in calculating these odds. The dominating hope in all the efforts here discussed is to change this destructive philosophy of life.

Throughout the history of our efforts in the field of juvenile reformation, institutions have been underfinanced, resulting in complete or partial paralysis of constructive effort. Not all establishments, to be sure, have been forced to let the "low per-capita cost" obscure the principal aim—reconstruction—but far too many have. Fortunately, our great foundations, with their freedom from various restrictions and with their farsighted leadership, have been exceedingly helpful in enlightening society as to its responsibilities for all types of education, including institutional rehabilitation. Society's parsimonious policy in respect to its children's institutions is "penny wise and pound foolish." Institutions so niggardly financed that they only detain for a time are mere taverns on the road to crime. And crime "costs plenty." More power to Children's Village and its liberal spending policy! Turning human liability into human asset calls for wide vision, the applications of science, humane administration and liberal financial support.

## Chapter XVI

### CRIME PREVENTION THROUGH CITIZENSHIP TRAINING AT THE GEORGE JUNIOR REPUBLIC

DONALD T. URQUHART\*

*Executive Director*

It is difficult to imagine any period in the history of our country more confusing to youth than the present. They have seen an insidious economic condition take from them many advantages which they had come to regard as a vital part of their lives. It is readily admitted that they had not been prepared to shift for themselves or to adjust themselves to a new way of life. Yet, actually, it is the very thing which they were forced to do.

In national emergencies, classes are seldom discriminated against and so it is in the present situation. All youth has been seriously affected by the results of the depression. Unfortunately, it is those least prepared, because of their environment and insecure financial position or because of indifferent parental control, who are in the greatest need of special training to help them develop a better understanding of the responsibilities of good citizenship.

If it is true that the recent peak age of criminals is nineteen years, then we must of necessity recognize that the educational methods designed to teach our youth how to live and to adjust under existing conditions in our communities are without successful results. Certainly a most ineffective plan of citizenship training is in use if the majority of our crimes are being committed by youth. As a matter of fact, adult society has never been too conscious of the real need of training young people for participation in citizenship. And civic-training opportunities, as such, have never occupied a very important place in our educa-

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tional program. Adults will never recognize good citizenship responsibilities until they, as youths, have been trained to take an effective part in civic affairs. Citizenship must be taught! There can be no better training for young people than to have the opportunity of actually applying citizenship to their daily lives. "Learning by doing" is the most effective educational method yet developed. The experimental work in the Junior Republic has demonstrated that a youth acquires a more cooperative attitude toward the forces of society when given some actual responsibility in ordering his own life.

Somehow it has been assumed that, when a person becomes twenty-one years of age and is vested with the full rights of a citizen, he will automatically acquire such intimate knowledge of his responsibilities that he will straightway develop into a very useful member of his community. The amazing thing is that many do, but not through an inheritance of divine knowledge which is passed on to them at the age of twenty-one.

In the majority of instances it is not until a person is in his late twenties that he actually becomes concerned about his duties as a citizen. Usually during this period the average person begins to develop an economic independence also. He becomes conscious of his ability to produce economic goods, and, as the desire to acquire property is an urge inherent in all normal people, it is but natural then that he should become interested in laws for the protection of his property. With the development of such an interest he likewise develops a more cooperative attitude toward the forces of society which govern and protect the interests of all people. Rightfully, therefore, the conclusion might be drawn that the assumption of actual responsibility tends to bring about a more complete and normal development of an individual. We may deduce also that the acceptance of responsibility acts as a deterrent from crime. At the moment we need not concern ourselves with the question as to whether this is due to the fact that actual participation in all phases of citizenship awakens a better understanding of the rights of all the people in the community or whether it brings about a keener realization of the necessity of conforming to society's demands.

The George Junior Republic is unique in the whole field of education in that the training is given through participation in each of the five phases of the well-made social being—spiritual,

social, recreative, economic, and civic. The motto, "Nothing without Labor," is applied to the full extent of its meaning. Instead of withholding civic and economic responsibility until the age of twenty-one, the Junior Republic places these very important factors on a par with recreative, social, and spiritual responsibility at the age of sixteen years. When any one of these factors is not functioning normally in the individual, a form of "social illness" is the result.

The idea of treatment in social illness must still be approached with humility, but sociologists are many steps in advance of our lumbering prison system in this respect. It is now generally conceded that there must be a change. The rapidly increasing percentage of second, and even third, offenders makes the problem of immediate interest. Viewing penal conditions objectively, we see, first, the amazingly low mental age of an ever-greater percentage of those incarcerated; and secondly, a gradual chain of events dragging normal young people deeper and deeper into the vicious net of criminal activity. The first situation is pitiable, yet one which we are powerless to alter; the second, however, is one of the major indictments of our social setup.

We would not suggest that the person stricken with scarlet fever be punished, yet he is perhaps an even greater threat to health and security than many of our so-called criminal types! "But," it can be said, "he did not set out deliberately to contract scarlet fever—there is a difference!" The difference narrows down to the question of the extent to which our social scheme is responsible for contagious social ills. Are we, as a society, not to be responsible for the young person who may go wrong through conditions which we ourselves have imposed or refused to improve? The most casual observer recognizes the complete ineffectiveness of our prison system in correcting the antisocial attitude which prompts the crime. Fear of punishment is not a great deterrent from crime. What criminal imagines that he will be caught when he perpetrates his "perfect crime?" No, our problem must be attacked from a different angle!

We can no longer refuse to make a critical survey of the opportunities available to youth, because it is too evident that the present generation of young people must make a heroic fight if they are to overcome the many burdens which we adults, in our endeavor to bring about the end of this so-called depression, have

been forced to put upon them. Many people have been concerned about the inevitable effects on our youth, but little has been done to better the conditions of the majority of them. The possibilities of an increased amount of crime being committed by youth are ever prevalent, and consequently it becomes necessary for us to bend our energies toward strengthening and expanding the already existing agency programs which, by virtue of their accomplishments in the development of sound educational opportunities, have had a contributory influence in the field of successful crime-prevention plans.

The George Junior Republic first came into prominence in the year 1890 as a fresh-air camp for underprivileged boys and girls of New York City. The idea of a group of children being taken from large city areas to one camp immediately caught the imagination of socially minded people everywhere. The contributions of these people in the form of clothes, food, and money served to strengthen the belief that some practical solution to a very pressing problem had at last been found. So successful was the first summer camp and so enthusiastic was the support of its sponsors that increased numbers of young people were taken to the camp the next summer and plans were advanced to make this piece of work a permanent part of our social-welfare structure.

However, the camp, as such, was doomed to a short life, for the founder, William R. George, later to be known the world over as "Daddy" George, became convinced after several summers' experience that the work which was being done was not permanently benefiting these young people as he had naturally supposed it would. True their physical well-being was greatly improved, but the children measured their good times solely in terms of the amount of food and clothing which they were able to take home with them at the end of the summer. If they did not have as large a share as they thought they should have, they were disgruntled and dissatisfied.

Having been born and raised on a farm where success was dependent on the results achieved by the individual, Mr. George could not bring himself to direct a program which, although exemplary in its fine ideals and its theory, was in a practical sense fostering a great deal of pauperism in the lives of the young people. With this thought in mind, "Daddy" George determined that, before giving up the summer work as a complete

failure, he would try various experiments in the hope of changing the undesirable responses of the young people.

As a result, the following summer, in addition to the usual equipment taken to the camp, he included picks and shovels. He had determined to have his young charges do a certain amount of work. At first he appealed to their creative sense by suggesting that the roads over which they had traveled from the railroad station to the camp were of such an inferior nature that it would be a great contribution to the community to make a model roadway. The enthusiasm of the group was worked up to a feverish point, and everyone wanted some part in the actual construction of the road. However, this experiment was not far reaching, for the enthusiasm of the group died away. Yet one significant thing stood out before Mr. George as a result of this attempt. He had noted that during the time when the young people were hard at work there was no grumbling or complaining. This was an accomplishment!

In the previous years it had been the custom to distribute clothing as it came in from near-by neighborhoods. Naturally it was given to the neediest first but as a result of the abundance of clothing, each youngster was well taken care of before leaving the camp. It had always been a mystery to Mr. George how some of the children who had come to the camp fairly well equipped had suddenly torn or lost most of their clothing. But as there had never been an occasion to worry about the supply, little thought had been given to such things. Mr. George was soon to find the answer to this question, however. In the summer, instead of breaking open the first box which came in and distributing it in the usual fashion, he offered it to those who were willing to do a certain amount of work in exchange. The idea was a total failure at first. The group could not understand whether he was joking or serious. After realizing the seriousness of the situation, they were at a complete loss to understand why they should be asked to work for something which they had been in the habit of receiving as a gift. Mr. George was adamant. Finally one boy expressed a willingness to do whatever work Mr. George required in order to obtain a suit of clothes which had caught his eye. He was scoffed at by his friends, but he had courage and the powers of stick-to-itiveness, and he paid little attention to the jokes and criticisms of his fellow campers.

Shortly after being given the suit, this lad reappeared at the door of Mr. George's headquarters and asked for the loan of an iron which was to be used in creasing the trousers. The ice had been broken! Others in the group quickly followed Johnnie's example and agreed to perform certain tasks in order to obtain the clothing. Here was another interesting result. An objective easily recognized and having a definite significance to a youngster had led him to complete a job which previously had remained unfinished.

A short time after Johnnie had assumed ownership of his suit, Mr. George was awakened by a pounding at his door. He dressed hurriedly and answered the summons. There stood Johnnie who breathlessly exclaimed, "Mr. George, is it right for guys what ain't worked to steal from guys what have worked?" Another significant achievement! Young people coming into ownership of property through their own efforts were likewise interested in laws for the protection of their property. Here then might be the answer which Mr. George sought, and upon the extension of the principles of self-government and self-support came the development of the idea of the Junior Republic.

Briefly, Mr. George's experiments had proved that if young people were required to assume responsibility, they not only responded but became better adjusted for having done so and had a far better appreciation of conditions and values than they had had formerly.

So in 1895 a group of sponsors of Daddy George's fresh-air camp met and organized as a board of trustees to carry on the work of the Republic under his leadership. The efforts of the board were immediately directed toward securing funds with which to purchase and erect buildings. The idea of the Republic was described in leading periodicals of the day and from lecture platforms by Mr. George, and in some instances by the trustees and young citizens. At first the Republic was entirely dependent on contributions from interested people. As the work took definite shape, money was contributed for additional buildings and special features of the work, and later some money was given to create a small endowment.

In so far as it was possible to do it, the architectural plans of the Junior Republic called for the development of the plant patterned after the typical small village community. There is no

similarity in the design of the buildings, in order to avoid the appearance of an institution. There are 450 acres of land, about 200 of which are devoted to farming purposes. The buildings comprise the Hunt Memorial School, which is the academic school unit, the carpenter shop, plumbing shop, print shop, town hall and government building, general mechanics building, and eleven cottages varying in size, one of which is used as a kitchen and dining room for the group. In addition, there is a large gymnasium, with well-developed club rooms, chapel, founder's home, and a spacious inn.

Originally it was the idea to take only those young people as citizens who came from poor families. But with the almost immediate success of the idea Mr. George was prevailed upon to try out the experiment with young people who came through courts or protective agencies. These were the so-called "tough eggs," and because of the many excellent results achieved with this group Mr. George felt that the idea would be good for all classes regardless of the question of delinquency or apparent normal adjustment. It is unfortunate that the attitude of the American public is such as to attempt a classification of the lives of young people within their respective communities. Undoubtedly, the differentiation, such as predelinquent, delinquent, or problem child, has come about because of legal interpretation applied to the so-called "delinquent." For purposes of illustration, a delinquent boy is one who has been so adjudged by the court, yet it is the knowledge of anyone in this field of work that some youngsters coming from the best homes are more delinquent in their tendencies than those who have been in court. Sometimes, because of the unusual position of the family in the community, or because of the ability of the parents to handle the matter quietly, the individual youngster is not classified as a delinquent. If classification is made, this youngster is known as a "problem child." There is only one real difference in these cases, and that is that the one young person has been caught, and his misdeeds are public knowledge, while the other young person has not been caught, at least publicly. Certainly, in setting up the program for the rehabilitation of either one, the same basic treatment must be applied. There are some young people regarded as delinquent who, because of unfortunate circumstances surrounding their homes, have found themselves in difficulties



over which they have had no control, and they have come to be looked upon as potential criminals. A better use of the word delinquent could be found in describing the parents of youngsters who display actions not approved by society!

When it was decided to include for citizenship both delinquents and normally adjusted youngsters, a tuition charge was made to those for whom financial support could be secured. However, this was never a set amount but was dependent upon the ability of parents or interested friends to pay for the support of the individual citizen. At no time was a young person who possessed the possibilities of becoming a good citizen through life in the Republic refused admission because of insufficient financial support. As a result it has always been necessary to appeal to the public for assistance in carrying on the work.

Primarily, the Junior Republic is an educational institution and a training school in citizenship. Because of its broad educational program and actual experience in training young people, it is particularly qualified to assume the title of "social laboratory." For 40 years, young people between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one years have shaped their lives under ideal conditions through a process of self-government and individual responsibility in this model American community. The achievements of the Junior Republic in successfully demonstrating these fundamental educational principles have had a wide influence on all types of educational programs throughout the United States and the entire world.

Due to its unique character and methods, it has succeeded in correcting many of the social maladjustments not reached by other organizations. But it is no more a "reformatory" than any other educational institution is or should be. It prepares its citizens to meet life as it is, and in order to do this truthfully it cannot limit its activities to any prepared field or limited group. It has public-spirited and antisocial individuals in its citizenship just as any other average community. Otherwise, it could not be an honest picture of real life and its problems, and training would be but idle toying with imaginary conditions existing only in storybook fiction. It is at all times a cross-sectional picture of all youth—the only exception being that mental and physical defectives are not admitted. The final test of the effectiveness of its methods is not the number of doctors or

lawyers it turns out, but the much greater number of young people who are equipped to take their place as integral parts in whatever stratum of our financial social ladder they may cast their lot. True, much of its notable success has been due to its corrective influence on those whose tendencies otherwise would have proven troublesome problems for society. But the same could or should be said of any other school, college, or institution successfully preparing, revising, or improving the mental endowment of youth.

There have been many institutions and schools which have applied the principles of self-government to their groups as a result of the experiment which has been conducted in the Republic. But in no place has there been so great a degree of freedom of thought, movement, and action as has been applied in the little village at Freeville, New York, where the Republic is located. The erroneous belief that self-government in a community of minors should be rigidly controlled solely by an adult group has largely been responsible for the failures of certain self-government programs in some agencies which have attempted them. Intelligent guidance and supervision is as essential in a junior form of government as it is in the senior form, but the injection of adult decisions does not imply guidance nor does it challenge young people to seek the solution of a pressing problem for themselves.

Certain phases of the Republic's economic plan carried on in other institutions have been quite successful. Usually, however, the boarding school has not attempted anything with this idea as a son or daughter is too often taken care of by a fixed weekly or monthly allowance.

Interesting criticisms have been advanced concerning the degree to which the Republic has developed its training program in economics. Probably the most interesting is that young people should not be faced with the necessity of giving consideration to such a perplexing problem. Maybe not. But there is very little wisdom in keeping it a secret from them! The urge to work and acquire property is a part of practically every young life. If some satisfactory opportunity is found, the time which is used by the individual is usually put to good advantage. In many instances the idle hand with a regular allowance has brought home many problems and heartaches which might have

been avoided if the time which had been spent in mischief had been used more beneficially.

It is natural for every parent to shield his child from pressing problems, but too often do we see evidences of youth's lack of appreciation of the parental efforts which are being expended. This may be traced, in part, to the fact that the young people have seldom been acquainted with and helped to realize actual conditions in the home. This statement can be borne out by the many tragic examples resulting from the latest economic upheaval. Stories have been written about boys who have left home to lighten loads on the family budget. Others who had less courage stole to obtain the things which were necessary to keep up the "front" in the eyes of the world.

The purpose of the economic plan within the Republic has not been to exploit the labor of the boy or girl or to exaggerate the position of the economic phases of activity in our everyday life. It was and still is meant to teach the value of money, the value of applied efforts, and the wisdom of developing an economic independence for oneself.

Neither has the citizenship-training program of the Junior Republic been developed solely as a method of combating delinquency. The basic purpose behind it has been to broaden our educational approach to aid youth in its problems. If it likewise serves as an effective agency in reducing crime, it has achieved an additional result.

It is generally accepted that congregate care of young people in an institution does not necessarily tend to produce law-abiding citizens. Usually a period of institutional care devoid of opportunities for training in civic and economic affairs has only hidden from the young person the obstacles which he will find outside. The Junior Republic's approach tends to remove these obstacles.

At the present time citizens of the Republic come through three distinct sources: those who, challenged by the opportunities of participation in a junior form of government, enter of their own volition; those who enter through application of parents or guardians following a procedure similar to that used in all boarding schools; and those who come through social agencies including some who are classified as predelinquent and delinquent. Analysis of the present citizen group at the Republic shows that approximately 10 per cent of the present citizens have entered of

their own volition; 46 per cent have come through parents and guardians, and 44 per cent have come through social agencies. Of this latter group approximately 11 per cent have had some relationship with the court, and as such might legally be termed delinquent children. Forty per cent of the present population are between fourteen and sixteen years of age while 60 per cent are over sixteen and under twenty.

It can be immediately seen that with such an intake policy the group is of a cosmopolitan nature. This has been purposely brought about so that in the creation of this little village the citizen group may be as near like the citizens of any American village as possible. In other words there are the extremes in the group. Equal opportunity prevails. The individual's past makes no difference so far as the right to these opportunities is concerned, and it is very often found that those classified as delinquent or predelinquent turn out to be better citizens than those who have entered of their own volition or that of their parents. Quite often, too, the boy or girl from the poor family on the outside becomes an industrious, thrifty, and well-to-do citizen at the Republic. In every instance the individual level of ability determines the degree of achievement attained.

Upon entering the Republic a new citizen comes into immediate contact with the person directing the work. This first meeting is entirely of a social nature. During this time the whole idea of the Republic is carefully explained to the new arrival. He learns much about the demands which will be placed upon him and what his civic responsibilities will be. He learns, too, that he will be required to be self-supporting in Republic currency which he can earn either by use of the brain or the hands or a combination of both. He is paid for his school marks as well as for his work in the shop. Very rarely is any mention made of conditions which may have existed in the past, although these conditions may already be a part of the knowledge which the director has about the new citizen. After this preliminary interview the boys or girls are taken on an inspection tour and as they go about they meet the different people, citizens, and workers alike. Thus they become acquainted with work opportunities which may be available in the shops, and with the class schedules which are to be carried out in the school program. No attempt is made to place the new citizen in any special cottage. Instead,

he is given the choice of the accommodations available. His choice will depend somewhat on his ability to earn a wage in token currency. He is cautioned about taking on obligations without first determining on a job open to him and learning about the amount of remuneration which he can expect for his efforts and productivity.

As he looks over the employment field he naturally turns to that trade for which he has the most interest and perhaps ability. It does not necessarily follow that he has ability in this particular field but no attempt is made to place him in any job because of any conclusions reached by adult members after having studied his previous development. Instead he is given an opportunity to follow up the activity in which he is interested. It may be but a relatively short period before he realizes that the wage which he is receiving is indicative of his lack of ability in this occupation. Therefore, because of economic reasons, he is forced to go into some other field for which he has more ability and greater assurance that he may sustain himself. When he is forced to seek another job because he has proven unsatisfactory in the previous one or because he may not have sufficient native ability to do the type of work required (and ample consideration is given to the fact that when he starts he is not a trained worker), he realizes that he is not only concerned with learning a trade, but he likewise finds that he is being required to live by the results of his own efforts in that trade. This feature does much in actually determining real interests and abilities. It also typifies a willingness on the part of the employer to give everyone an opportunity to prove himself capable of producing satisfactory results.

Enrollment in the academic program also carries with it the opportunity of selecting subject matter by choice, providing that such choice takes into consideration the completion of a regular high-school course in either the academic or vocational field or the preparation for regular college-entrance examinations. The new citizen usually carries the average high-school load unless he desires to support himself entirely upon his earning capacity in the scholastic field. He is aided in the choice of subject matter by the principal of the school who carefully reviews with him the method of school pay given in return for class or research work produced. Here again the concern of the adult is the level of ability of the individual student.

School pay takes into account three major considerations: first the actual attainment in terms of a grade; second the student's display of effort; third his cooperation in the class or council room. Under the unit program of study as carried on in the Republic, the student quickly hits a pace which more or less indicates his scholastic ability. It may follow that his proficiency in a certain subject matter allows him the opportunity to do further research work for which he is paid in that field or to spend more time in those classes which prove more difficult to him. There is very little reward for the lazy or indifferent student, and if one becomes unconcerned with producing satisfactory results he soon finds that at the end of the week his rate of pay is in proportion to his effort. Therefore, it becomes most difficult for him to meet his board and room bills. The fact that he may be required to live more cheaply the following week often helps to develop an early realization on his part that unless he becomes more productive in his activities he will be unable to support himself on the desired standard.

There are two classes of food in the dining room and several types of rooms available in the various cottages. Consequently, if a citizen's rate of pay is so low that he must choose second-class fare, he finds that, instead of being able to enjoy the meal which is planned for the first-class citizens and adult workers, he must partake of a menu which includes no desserts and no second helpings of the regular meal. Likewise in the choice of rooms he finds that the attractive ones are more costly and, while heat and light are supplied in each room, there is a vast difference in the degree of comfort provided in the rooms.

The token wages of a citizen are paid to him each week and he assumes the responsibility of budgeting his personal income and expense accounts. In addition to the board and room which he must pay, he has to redeem all clothing and money supplied him by his parents or friends. Besides this he is required to pay citizen taxes, fines imposed upon him in court, a fee for school materials used, and all his own medical and dental costs. After the payment of all obligations, that portion of the weekly income which is left over is put aside as savings. He may find his savings redeemed in money by the adult administration of the Republic or he may be called upon to use them in case he quits or is fired from his job. Should he quit an employer in a shop, he cannot

secure employment in another field without having a recommendation. This tends to discourage the development of a transient type of worker. If he is fired by an employer, it is most difficult for him to find other employment. Moreover, when he does secure employment, it is at a minimum rate of pay. This is an undesirable feature to any citizen and he therefore becomes quite conscious of the necessity of holding a job and producing satisfactory results.

It may happen that a citizen has earned such a small amount of pay that he is not able to take care of his obligations. Without savings he is unable to suggest to his cottage mother that he will make up the deficit in another week's time, and he is faced with the prospect of being evicted from his cottage. If this happens he knows he has no other alternative than to appeal to the citizen government and request that he be given quarters in the government's place of detention. Such a request is never denied but it does not carry with it the right to loaf at government expense. Such a "guest" finds himself regulated, by government decree, as to hours of rising and retiring, as well as to hours of arrival and departure. Likewise he finds that he is required to do that work which the citizen chief of police assigns. For this work he will be paid. Unfortunately for him, however, the government takes his pay in exchange for his board and lodging. At the end of three days a formal complaint is made against him and he is arrested as a vagrant. In coming before the court he finds it presided over by a citizen judge, district attorney, and regular court attendants. There is little glamour in the scene. It is probably the first time that the prisoner has ever been judged by his peers. He knows he cannot evade the issue and he hopes for a "break" from the judge. If it is the first offense, the judge is inclined to be lenient with him, and after being advised that his reappearance in the court will be viewed much more seriously, the prisoner may find his case dismissed or he may be sentenced to a few additional days in the workhouse.

There is no such thing as the breaking of rules or regulations in the Republic. Instead it is a violation of the civil or penal code and is handled in the citizen court as such. The same legal methods are followed here as are used outside. A police official makes out the warrant and the officers serve them. Summons may be served on both citizen and adult alike. In case an act is

committed against the state, government agents prosecute the defendant. If the defendant has no economic resources to supply counsel, such is provided him by the court. In the event of civil action private attorneys are retained by the parties involved. Any decision of the citizen court may be appealed to the Supreme Court which is composed of the executive committee of the George Junior Republic Association. At this point it is interesting to note that very seldom has it been necessary for the Supreme Court to reverse the decisions of the citizen court.

As a rule it is not necessary to have more than one lesson. Of course there are those who are tempted to try out their ability in evading the laws because of their feeling that if arrested they will be able to hire some good lawyer to defend them in such evasion. Any citizen who practices law must have passed an examination and have been admitted to the bar. Successful lawyers are not too eager to jeopardize their reputation by defending criminals, and it is only rarely that a criminal lawyer can be found in the Republic. If a citizen, wishing to test the power of the court, commits a very serious offense, he is arrested by a police official of the government and is brought before a justice.

There is one very significant difference in the procedure from the way it is conducted outside, which is brought out when the prisoner faces a court. If he has been convicted of a crime in the Junior Republic, this offense is regarded as a social illness and should therefore be treated rather than punished. Under this theory the prisoner is sentenced to what is known as a social sanitarium in which he must reside until such time as he has proven himself ready to resume the responsibilities of good citizenship. Upon commitment to the social sanitarium the patient comes under the immediate supervision of a social clinic which works in close cooperation with citizen officials. The clinic is a body of adult social workers charged with the responsibility for setting up an individual program of treatment for each patient committed to the sanitarium. A thorough study is made of each case. Hours and places of employment and recreation are determined by the clinic. The patients are geographically restricted to a special building and of course lose most of their privileges. While they are in the sanitarium, they lose their rights to citizenship but upon being discharged they again assume their citizenship standing in the community.



The purpose of the clinic is to study the individual patient in an effort to determine the cause of and prescribe treatment for the patient's antisocial behavioristic tendencies. To such an end daily reports are made of each patient. In order that a daily record of the patient's responses may be kept, a graph is established covering three phases of the individual's life. These are: work habits, self-control, and attitude. The individual after a period of observation is given a grade from 0 to 50 depending upon the clinical observations and analysis at the time of his commitment. The figure 50 represents the mean point between the two extremes; that is, the normal and the abnormal. With these figures as a basis and with daily records denoting progress or lack of progress as the case may be, the graph reveals the patient's responses to the individual program of treatment. A rising curve in the graph denotes satisfactory progress and a lowering of the curve indicates unsatisfactory responses. The lowering or the rising of the curve is noted in the daily reports and consequently the reason for the lowering of the curve can be determined almost immediately.

Before a patient is eligible for release from the sanitarium, each individual graph must reach the mean point and remain there for a minimum period of two weeks. Then he is discharged but is kept under an additional period of supervision by the clinic pending his complete adjustment in the group. If upon his release he again displays previous tendencies, he is referred back to the clinic which renews its work with him. On the other hand, should there be no further record of reversion to previous tendencies, and adjustment is apparent, he has no further contact with the clinic. Under such a plan then, the clinic attempts a scientific study of the act committed by a citizen, determining if possible the causes; likewise, it is the purpose of the clinic to determine the proper time at which a patient may take up his unrestricted privileges of citizenship in the community. Such a relationship of the clinic with the citizen government gives ample opportunity for necessary supervision.

It does not always follow that abnormal social tendencies are revealed by the commission of an act or crime which can be covered by law. For instance, temper tantrums, abusive treatment of others, and similar acts cannot be covered by any law except in a very technical manner. Therefore no attempt is

made to prosecute such an individual in the citizen court, but his case may come to the attention of the clinic which has the power to commit him to the social hospital, an agency quite similar to the sanitarium. Much the same procedure is followed in the hospital as is used in the sanitarium. However, citizenship is not taken away from the individual and a more liberal type of supervision is given.

The social hospital is an institution on which society must depend for the elimination of a large share of our crime problem, as it functions on the principle of preventing social illness by a constructive program of education and clinical treatment. It is more principally concerned with antisocial attitudes which lead to careers of crime. The social hospital promotes an equalized development in all the five phases of individual development, and when a lack of balance occurs the person is treated by competent workers in such a way that adjustment is natural and speedy. For instance, the person who is chronically unemployed and generally unstable in his financial (economic) condition is socially ill. He makes two threats to society: the possibility of becoming dependent upon relief, and, worse, the grave danger of becoming a criminal if the opportunity presents itself. It becomes the job of the social doctor to diagnose the case, seek out the causes, and set up a constructive program toward their elimination. It may be necessary partially to restrict the boundaries of this individual for a time. But he must not be removed entirely from the environment in which he will have to take his place again as a self-respecting citizen, unless that environment is plainly the cause of his maladjustment. The person must clearly understand that he is being "treated" and not punished. We can stand a great deal of pain when our doctor sets a broken limb, so long as we know it is a constructive step in cure.

The psychological theory behind the self-government plan is good. Any boy or girl whose unsatisfactory conduct does not win the approbation of his fellow citizens must of a certainty recognize that there is something wrong with himself; and the boy or girl who has a hand in guiding the destinies of others on the right path must see the value of right doing himself. It is only in stories and plays that we see a person cured of some ill by encouraging him to practice evil.

The citizen government is patterned after the town meeting but, because it is a republic within a republic, it has adopted some federal offices. The constitution provides that the laws of the George Junior Republic village shall be the general laws of the State of New York. Its general policy is to conduct a village that is exactly similar to any other incorporated village in the state in all its operations, excepting that the citizens of the George Junior Republic reach their voting age at sixteen instead of twenty-one years. It is necessary that special laws be enacted to meet the special requirements. Such special laws are passed by the majority vote in a general town meeting of the citizens of the Junior Republic between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one, who have been in residence within the George Junior Republic for a period of one month and are not residents of the social sanitarium.

The executive officials are the President, Secretary of State, and Secretary of the Treasury. The President has the power of appointing Judges of the Civil and Criminal Courts and also special judges to try any case in which one of the regular judges may not act. The President also appoints the Clerks of the Courts and the Attorney General who may be removed from office by him at any time during his administration. He also has the power to pardon at his discretion any citizen who has been committed to the workhouse by judicial decision. It is his duty to call regular cabinet meetings once a month for the purpose of considering all matters of interest relating to the Republic. Those in attendance at the cabinet meeting are Vice-President, Secretaries of State and Treasury, and the Chief of Police and Attorney General.

The Judge holds office on good behavior until he has reached his twenty-first birthday or until he has left the Republic. The Judge and District Attorney cannot be appointed unless they are members of the bar. Bar examinations are given periodically and any voting citizen is eligible to take this examination. They are difficult to pass, and unless a citizen has a good knowledge of his government there is little possibility of his passing his bar examination. Lawyers may engage in private practice or prepare for public office. A judge may be removed from office only by impeachment at a town meeting.

The Vice-President fills the position of President upon the President's absence except in a case of resignation, when a special election is held and a new president elected. He presides over the Town Meetings and acts as chairman of the Board of Health and Board of Police Commissioners.

The Secretary of State keeps a record of all laws passed by the Town Meeting or Legislature and posts all bills to come before the Town Meeting. The Secretary of the Treasury has charge of collecting taxes and all government receipts and disbursements.

Once a month town meeting is held. The citizens discuss their civic and social problems, vote for new laws, and amend or abolish laws that have not proven satisfactory.

It is not all work and no play in the Republic, for recreation and social life fill a very important place. A great deal of social contact between the boys and girls is encouraged under proper supervision by adults. It has always been the belief of the Republic that real appreciation and respect for the opposite sex could never be developed by the elimination of either group. Therefore, the Republic believes in coeducation as a very vital part of the life of any young person. Parties, dances, and social get-togethers of all kinds are always a part of the activities. Such sports as baseball, basketball, and football are carried on with other neighboring schools. Libraries and recreation rooms in the Republic are used intensively in the recreational program which is carried on.

The Republic is nonsectarian. No attempt is made to change the religious faith of anyone in the community and each citizen is free to participate in the religious activities of his church in near-by communities. Transportation is provided by the Roman Catholic Church to those of the Catholic faith so that they may be able to attend weekly Mass. The Sunday community service is open to all and is conducted more on the basis of an open forum; as such, it proves to be a very worthy activity.

Two illustrative cases of citizens of the Republic show how delinquent boys were successfully adjusted here:

*Case I.* Henry was the son of a successful professional man. His early adjustment was quite normal and satisfactory. However, as he developed into adolescence, he displayed a tendency to acquire property

which did not rightfully belong to him. At first it was just property belonging to the family, but as he grew older he stole from his classmates and friends. The father made every effort to overcome these tendencies while the boy was in his own home, but apparently with little success. The boy possessed a very keen mind, and during all of these episodes of stealing, he still maintained a highly satisfactory scholastic grade, which enabled him to complete high school and enter college. It was during his freshman year in college that his tendencies became marked to such an extent that he found himself in a rather isolated position. His fellow classmates would not accept him. At the end of the freshman year, his father felt that he was no longer able to cope with the situation, and requested that the boy be allowed to enter the Republic.

He was a somewhat older citizen than the majority of the group, and his greater educational experience seemed to instill within him the desire to test the effectiveness of his fellow citizens in the Republic self-government plan. It was only a short time after he arrived that he was arrested for stealing. His case was brought into court in the usual fashion. He was given a severe reprimand, as well as a fine in the token money currency. This first experience had no effect whatsoever, and directly the next day he was again arrested on a similar charge. This time there was no reprimand or additional warning. He was judged socially ill, and sentenced to the social sanitarium. This was an entirely new experience to him, and not at all to his liking. His early cooperation was extremely poor, and he attempted in every way possible to upset the routine which the citizens established in the conduct of the affairs of the court.

He had registered for some additional high-school work, and when it was discovered that his uncooperative attitude prevented a satisfactory development in his scholastic endeavors, he was removed from the high-school program, and placed on a strictly vocational basis. He had not been in the habit of doing any kind of manual work, and of course did not readily accept this new plan. By this time he had made himself very annoying to the group, with the result that here too he was not readily accepted.

A few boys who were with him in the social sanitarium were inclined to follow his leadership, inasmuch as it openly opposed the control which their peers had over them. Such control is naturally objectionable to those under restriction. However, it was difficult for Henry to retain any degree of comradeship with these two or three temporary friends, for they soon discovered that even they could not trust him to any extent. His stay in the social sanitarium was quite long, and at first it appeared that there was little likelihood of his ever being released. After nearly six weeks of continued lack of cooperation, he suddenly switched his

tactics and became most cooperative. It was felt that this was due almost entirely to the fact that compulsory work at low token wages made him realize that as long as he was faced with the necessity of supporting himself within the Republic it would be more to his advantage to do it as a free member of the community than as one restricted in liberties and opportunities. With the development of a more cooperative attitude, he progressed to such an extent that recognition of his achievements led to his release from the sanitarium.

His behavior for a period of two weeks after his release showed continued improvement. Then again came another slump. He chided his fellow citizens about their self-government, ridiculing those who were less alert to situations than he, even going so far as to boast that he regarded the whole idea as a fantastic thing and something which any person even of weak intelligence could see through and explode. Such statements and reactions did not materially aid him in winning the friendship of the group. Actually, it caused many to regard him as a continual troublemaker. When the boy saw that his threats and boasts were not well received he found it necessary to go further in order to challenge the attention of the group. Consequently, he reverted to his habits of stealing and upon arrest he decided to defend himself in court.

This was to be an interesting experiment. A more mature person charged with a crime was being tried before his peers, some of whom were much younger and more inexperienced than he. Between the time of his arrest and his trial, he made a very thorough study of the law in an attempt to discover some technicality which would win him his acquittal. Apparently he felt assured of success, and he openly boasted that after his trial started he would not be held more than five minutes. The day of the trial came, and the court was packed with an eager citizen group to witness a survival or failure of their ability to control the situation, so far as this person was concerned. Other cases in the court were quickly disposed of, and his case came up. The District Attorney presented the evidence and witnesses were called. The defendant, in his examination of the witnesses, attempted to confuse and distract their minds to such an extent that they would perjure themselves. However, it so happened that the District Attorney was one who had considerable Republic legal experience. The evidence which he brought before the court was too conclusive and the defendant was found guilty and again sentenced to the social sanitarium.

This period of residence in the sanitarium was even longer than the one previous, although his actions and attitude displayed less hostility. For a time he took up an isolated position in the group. Then he gradually sought to make friends first with those in his own surroundings and later with those who were the more influential members of the citizen

group. At first his attempt was regarded very skeptically but later, as his earnestness became apparent, he was more readily accepted.

After a period of approximately ten weeks one of the officials of the government approached a worker and requested that he be allowed to take Henry into his custody. He had been observing Henry's responses over a period of time and had become convinced that the boy was honestly endeavoring to fulfill his obligations as a law-abiding citizen. It was naturally felt that this type of support might be a method of stimulating Henry to better achievements, so he was released with the understanding that weekly reports to the citizen court would determine whether or not he would be able to continue with this plan. The boy made rapid strides, for his self-appointed probation officer saw to it that he was included in all of the activities of the citizen group. His work habits improved materially and he became genuinely interested in the work at the bakery. Here he found an opportunity to be gainfully occupied in something which rather fascinated him and after a period of six months he was given the job as citizen foreman of the bakeshop. It was in this new job that he exhibited real executive capacity.

During the period after his release he had many conferences with the judge of the citizen court but it was never necessary for him to be recommitted to the sanitarium. He became a law-abiding citizen, and cooperated with the citizen government. He did not, however, show any inclination to hold any of the governmental offices.

Henry left the Republic after about a year and a half and shortly thereafter entered a western college, where during his senior year he was instructor in some freshman courses. Within the past six months he has written requesting the latest information about the present developments of the Republic in order that he might lecture upon this work to one of his classes in a large university in which he now teaches.

*Case II.* Jimmy was the adopted son of a successful lawyer. He was a fine-looking chap and a lad who made friends easily and quickly. He had made an excellent adjustment until the death of his foster mother, which occurred when he was twelve years of age. From that time until his sixteenth year he had been in minor difficulties, and had displayed such tendencies as dishonesty, deceit, and stealing. While his scholastic record had never been too satisfactory it was good enough to permit his entrance into high school. In the middle of his freshman course, he suddenly decided to quit school and seek employment. His father attempted to prevent him from doing this, but because of the boy's lack of interest and his temporary inability to do successful school work the father felt the experience of working might prove beneficial to the boy, at least to the point of helping him to realize the necessity of a better education. The boy secured a job which gave him a small amount of remuneration, and this, together with the allowance which his father

continued, served to satisfy him for a short time. However, as he became more interested in the social activities of the community, his demands upon his father increased proportionately. The father did not respond to the boy's request for an additional allowance, and it was but a short time after, that theft in the home was reported to him. In any of the contacts with the father the boy would never admit any part in these thefts, and he made use of every excuse to lay the blame elsewhere.

The relationship between the boy and his father became quite strained, even to such an extent that it was exceedingly difficult for the boy and his father to get along together. One night, after having been denied a request for an additional allowance to attend some affair in the community, the boy left his home, and in company with another boy went to the apartment of a friend of his father. Putting on masks, they rapped at the door and announced that it was a "stick-up." The boy was sufficiently well acquainted with the home to know where the woman kept the household money, and in the search of the house Jimmy took this cash. At first it appeared to the people in the apartment that it was a joke on the part of some young people in the community, but as they came to realize the seriousness of the situation they took cognizance of the actions of Jimmy and his friend. Immediately after they left, the people made a search of their home, to discover what was missing, and it was seen that the money had been taken. The police were called, and after a brief search Jimmy and his friend were found.

Because of the seriousness of the situation as well as Jimmy's adverse development, the case was taken into court. It was then that the boy came to our attention. Because it seemed that there was so much that was worth while in him his case was particularly challenging, and arrangements were completed for his entrance to the Republic. His experience in the court had been a bitter one, and at first he was resentful of everybody. Fortunately a splendid relationship was established between one of the social workers of the Republic and the boy, and his response to this contact gave us an opportunity early in our work with him to redirect some of his attitudes and responses.

A test of his ability in school work showed that it was most difficult for him to read and spell with any degree of accuracy. Consequently we felt that our scholastic work with him should begin with concentration on grammar-school work. He was not enrolled in the regular academic program although he was eligible, but he was given tutorial help and at first his entire time was directed toward reading and spelling. Later he was assigned a high-school subject, and as he became more proficient with the basic work additional high-school subjects were given him.

From the beginning he was fascinated with the idea of becoming a Republic lawyer and he spent considerable time in preparing for the bar



examination. We were at first inclined to look upon this as a very hopeful sign and felt that the opportunity which would be afforded to the boy in becoming a member of the prosecuting staff would help to crystallize his interest in becoming a law-abiding citizen. It was with genuine astonishment that we learned that he had no desire to become a district attorney. In fact it was his hope to become a criminal lawyer defending those who had transgressed against citizen laws. It was difficult to understand this decision, because from the first day of his entrance he had been most cooperative and interested in all of the citizen affairs. It was some time later that we learned of his real reason for wishing to become a criminal lawyer. Since the time of his arrest, previous to his coming to the Republic, he had harbored a feeling that if he had been represented in court by an able attorney he would have been acquitted. From the very first day that he learned of the Republic and its plan of operation he had determined to become a criminal lawyer to enable him to defend those he regarded as being unfortunate because they had been caught in breaking a law. As quickly as he was eligible to try the bar examination he did so and passed with a very good grade. This of course meant he was now free to begin his practice as a criminal lawyer. But before he had taken his first case an incident happened which was to change the complexion of the whole picture.

The procedure of the citizen government in the conduct of the work-house and sanitarium was that in the event no eligible citizen applied for a keeper's job the government drafted those for this work from among a recognized eligible list. Directly after his admission to the bar there was a scarcity of eligible keepers and Jimmy was drafted. He refused the draft, which automatically made him subject to arrest. His reason for so doing was that he felt that he could not very well represent a defendant in court while being at the same time employed by the government in an official capacity as keeper of the citizens in custody of the court. He appeared as his own counsel in court and prepared with the utmost care all of the evidence which he could find in defense of his refusal of the draft. He was found guilty, however, and was ordered to pay a fine of fifty dollars token currency and in addition to take the job as keeper. He made an immediate appeal to the Supreme Court for its consideration. Much to Jimmy's dismay the Supreme Court upheld the decision of the citizen court.

However, the decision was not rendered until approximately three weeks after the appeal had been made, and during this time Jimmy had had time to give considerable thought to the study of the course which he had elected to pursue. Likewise his experience as keeper helped, as he later said, to show him the necessity of forcing some people to recognize their mistakes. Although he had hoped to win the decision in the Supreme Court he was not unduly affected by the opinion of the

Court, for he had already determined upon becoming the next District Attorney. He not only became the District Attorney but after a year's residence in the Republic was appointed to the judgeship of the court where he established for himself the record of being one of the best judges in the history of the Republic. During this time he had likewise made splendid advancement in his scholastic work, and although it was not easy for him to obtain passing grades without considerable effort, this he was now willing to do. At the end of a year and a half Jimmy had graduated from the high school and left the Republic.

Since he has left the Republic Jimmy has shown continued improvement. He has had steady employment, which has enabled him to be entirely self-supporting, and he is preparing to continue his education.

It is extremely difficult to determine accurately the degree of success of the Republic's plan and as yet no accurate auditing device has been established. More than 2,000 people have been at the Republic, and it has been determined by means of personal contact, community appraisal, and other agency knowledge that approximately 90 per cent of the citizen group have become successful adult citizens. Naturally it is felt that the basis for this successful adjustment is the training and experience given at the Republic. However, it is only fair to recognize that the success of some may be due to the conditions surrounding their lives after leaving the Republic. Likewise it is fair to suggest that, in the case of those who have not been so successful, a satisfactory piece of work may have been accomplished in the Republic, but lack of adequate aftercare and supervision or dangerous outside contacts, together with an inability to secure employment, has outweighed all of the good done. A willingness to assume responsibility, but the lack of an opportunity to do so, is altogether too prevalent today. This very thing accounts for many crimes committed by youth. It is our belief that any organization which is intensely concerned with the degree of success which it is achieving in the lives of its young people must, of necessity, study the causes for the failure of those who have not succeeded.

In giving full consideration to the degree of success which this plan has had we must not fail to give attention to the fact that the Republic has been an exceedingly valuable "social laboratory" in which sound educational principles have been developed and given to other social and educational institutions.

Many of the phases of this program have been applied in whole or in part to other agencies which have recognized the soundness of the principles developed at the Republic. The fact that the Republic has served in this capacity is an assurance of the success of the idea.

Crime-prevention programs should not, as unfortunately they do, suggest that efforts are being applied or should be applied only to those whose tendencies are definitely regarded as delinquent. The American layman must cease attempting to classify youth as predelinquent or delinquent. That job should be left to those whose knowledge of the individual case gives them the right to determine the particular category into which any individual fits. As adults, our concern should be in creating more adequate opportunities, more thorough training and educational experiences for our youth. If we would reverse our present-day plan of expenditure and apply the bulk of our money to training our youth properly before they become delinquent, we would have a less expensive task on our hands than we now have in caring for those whom we must incarcerate because of their failure to make a satisfactory adjustment to the standards of our society.

The Junior Republic has provided an ideal stamping ground on which all youth can "learn by doing" the requisites of responsible citizenship. All types of young people have taken advantage of its opportunities and have gone out into life with a fuller understanding of their responsibilities, more capable of meeting society's competitive demands. It is a well-equipped social laboratory with a broader field of training than any other educational agency in the United States. More than that, it is a demonstration of fundamental social principles which society cannot afford to overlook.

## Chapter XVII

### SUMMER CAMP FOR DELINQUENT BOYS AT GREENWOOD LAKE, DELAWARE, OHIO

IRVING A. WAGNER\*

*Director*

When the Franklin County, Ohio, Court of Domestic Relations was established in 1928 many changes took place in the local treatment of juvenile offenders. The late Judge Erwin V. Mahaffey, socially minded and ever alert to the newer trends in scientific treatment of social problems, surrounded himself with skilled and progressive assistants. He secured as Chief Probation Officer the late Mabel L. Riebel, who, with the able assistance of Mabel Ferree, conceived and organized a modern probation department. To these three far-seeing people must go the credit for giving to Franklin County an up-to-date,

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Although this chapter is written in the present tense, it refers to the conduct of the camp from its inception in 1930 until the summer of 1935 during which time it was entirely under the auspices of the Domestic Relations Court of Columbus, Ohio. In 1935 the Director of the camp, who until then had been an officer of the court, became Executive Secretary of the Big Brother Association of Columbus, Ohio, and though he has continued as the camp Director, some changes in both the auspices and functioning of the camp have taken place. Although previously boys were taken almost exclusively from the court, at present the first half of the camp season is devoted to Little Brothers many of whom are underprivileged, unstable, and tending toward delinquency; while during the second half of the season the usual group of court cases is accommodated. It needs to be emphasized that the description of the organization and functioning of the camp as presented in this chapter deals with it essentially as it was under court auspices. This is not a description of a Big Brother camp.—EDITORS' NOTE.

efficient institution for dealing with the problems of the community's children.<sup>1</sup>

As a result of their belief that the correction of juvenile offenders demands not conviction and punishment so much as diagnosis and treatment, they planned a constructive program for the court's probationers and removed them from the supervision of investigating officers to that of special officers in a separate Department. In this Department a program was evolved that aimed to discover and treat the underlying causes of each child's misbehavior and to provide for his physical, mental, and social needs. It was out of the child's social needs that the idea of a camp was conceived. An effort had been made to provide probationers with recreational opportunities, but there were far too few facilities available for such activities. When the writer, who at that time was an unofficial probation officer in the Juvenile Division of the Court, suggested a boy's camp and volunteered his services to organize it, the idea was enthusiastically accepted for the recreational opportunities it promised.

With the cooperation of Mrs. Ferree, Director of the Probation Department of the court, the camp was started. As the project was strictly experimental we did not consider it advisable to try to establish a permanent camp of our own; it seemed better to make use of one already established. With this in mind we conferred with the Salvation Army and found them generously willing to grant us the privilege of using one unit of their camp at Greenwood Lake, Delaware, Ohio.

Not all of the boys selected to go to camp are on probation. Many of them have been in court only unofficially and were never on probation. Others have completed their terms of probation and have been released. Numerous other boys have never been in court at all but are sent to camp at their own or their parents' request. The practice of thus mingling non-delinquent with delinquent boys has been seriously questioned at times, but it has been our belief, and experience has borne it out, that the presence of non-court boys gives our camp a good name, and these boys have not suffered by contact with the delinquents.

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter XXI by Judge Erwin V. Mahaffey and Mabel L. Riebel.—  
EDITORS' NOTE.

Camp consists of two units, one on each side of a small artificial lake. One kitchen, dining room, hospital and administrative building serves both units, while each unit is supplied with an assembly and recreation hall. The water-front, recreation field, tennis, volleyball, and croquet courts serve both units. The cabins are well constructed, well ventilated, and completely screened. Each is wired for electricity and contains a toilet and washbowl with running water. The cottages are equipped with steel cots, mattresses, blankets, and bed linen. The unit of the camp on the other side of the lake consists of similar but smaller cottages and is occupied by underprivileged and undernourished children and their mothers during the time of our stay in camp.

The Salvation Army furnishes, besides the above physical facilities, meals and dining-room service, medical service, water-front equipment, boats, and some of the counselors.

The first camp, in 1930, consisted of twenty-one boys who were seriously maladjusted and of pronounced delinquent tendencies. We were not prepared by experience, staff, or program to meet the demand of this unwisely selected group, and the project was unsatisfactory. The only really valuable result of the summer's effort was what we learned about the possibilities and needs of a camp for delinquent boys. Each summer as the camp has grown in size we have gained in experience and obtained increased equipment and more and better leaders. After the second summer we ceased to depend on the inadequate staff of the regular camp and secured extra leaders for the duration of the season. However, we have never yet been able to have as many counselors as we need, nor have they always been skilled and well trained.

The writer has served as the Director of the camp since its beginning. He plans and directs the programs and trains the leaders. As the Director was at first only an unofficial officer of the court, the judge considered it desirable to assign one of his officials to attend the camp during the first summer. By the following year the Director had become affiliated with the court and so represented the judge officially. This condition prevailed until the summer of 1935 when, the writer having left the service of the court, the camp was without official court representation. By this time ways had been found of conducting the

camp that made the presence of a court officer unnecessary and undesirable.\*

The counselors have never been connected with the court except as volunteer officers and most of them not even in that way. They have been selected by the Director with the advice and approval of Mrs. Ferree, Director of the Probation Department of the court. Mrs. Ferree has always given the camp her complete attention and has superintended most of the work of selecting the boys and getting them ready for camp. Her biggest responsibility, however, has been in securing the finances for the camp, and the way she has handled this work is much to her credit. No official funds have ever been available for this project, and it has been an annual problem to interest individuals and organizations in supporting the undertaking. The Civitan Club, Rotary Club, Kiwanis Club, Fraternal Order of Eagles, *Columbus Citizen* (a local newspaper), the Charity Newsies, Crestview Parent-Teacher Association, the Elks, the Salvation Army, the Y.M.C.A., the Godman Guild Settlement, and several individual philanthropists have been among the sponsors of the camp.

By discarding as far as practical the strong arm of court authority and using unofficial counselors for the duration of the camp period, we found that we were in a position where a comparatively large staff was needed. Anything less than constant supervision got us into trouble. Because of their lack of stability there were seldom more than two or three boys who wanted to do the same thing at the same time, and few of them cared to continue consistently at their individually chosen activities for any length of time. Therefore, since we early recognized the fallacy of attempting to use persuasion or coercion to encourage participation, there was nothing for it but to have sufficient counselors to keep all the popular activities going all of the time and still have men available to look after the stragglers who failed to find anything to interest them.

What are the objectives of a camp for delinquent boys? Our general objective is to induct maladjusted boys into conventionalized society through the medium of enjoyable and suc-

\* The functioning of the camp since 1935 is not the concern of this chapter.—EDITORS' NOTE.

cessful participation in the organized group activities of a social unit, that unit being the camp. School is the only such activity that many maladjusted boys have, the time they spend at home and the time they spend at play being partially or entirely without adequate supervision and aim. By this failure to acquire unity-consciousness they fail to learn to function in the synchronized unison of a standardized society, and so, being out of harmony with that society, they develop such antisocial behavior patterns as, to them, seem best to serve their needs. By its failure to tie up the boy's school life with his home and recreational life, society makes about the same progress that one would, if, in trying to push a wagon up a hill, one gave a short shove and then sat down to rest, allowing the wagon to coast back to its starting place. Camp, then, to be truly effectual must break the boy to the yoke of community living before passing him into the hands of a year-round supervisory agency or medium where the stabilizing influences inaugurated during the summer can be consistently followed up.

Another very definite objective of camp pertains to health. An overwhelming majority of maladjusted boys are suffering from the effects of irregular and unwholesome living conditions, and inadequate and improper food.

The great value of camp as a medium for treating social maladjustment was only realized as the experiment developed. With this realization we began in earnest to analyze the potentialities of camp for our purpose and to study how it could be adapted, if it needed adapting, to serve that purpose. We began to study the available camp literature and learned much to our advantage; but the most important thing we learned was that we could not expect to apply, unaltered, ordinary camp procedures to a camp project that was not ordinary, and expect to have an Aladdin's lamp with which to produce miraculous results. What was needed, we saw, was a study of our particular needs and an adaptation of the best available methods to meet them. Out of this enlightenment grew a concerted study of needs, of objectives, and of the methods of attaining them.

These various factors then contribute to the opportunity of the summer camp as an agency of behavior adjustment; a change from the social habitat in which the behavior difficulties have been developed;



freedom from erratic or unwise parental control; a controlled, unified, complete and socially wholesome environment; the possibility of constant observation; a sympathetic and understanding leadership; and an atmosphere which is usually conducive to helping boys find the joy of cooperative endeavor and the sense of mastery and achievement.<sup>2</sup>

To the camper, as pointed out by Bernard S. Mason,<sup>3</sup> there is but one objective—fun. It is the one thing that must be kept constantly in mind in planning the policies and building the programs of any camp. The boy has no idealistic, no subtle, no ulterior motives; he wants to have a good time, and it behooves us never to forget it. It is not he, it is we, who are interested in his character development, in changing his behavior. It is well, Mr. Mason further indicates,<sup>4</sup> in this consideration to think of Professor W. I. Thomas' four fundamental human wishes: the wish for new experience; the wish for security; the wish for recognition; and the wish for response. It is only by fulfilling these wishes that we can give the boy his indispensable fun and so satisfy his one all-important objective. In no boy are these wish fulfillments so pronouncedly lacking as in our maladjusted, underprivileged boy. He has never had many of the coveted opportunities of his more fortunate contemporaries, and to bring wholesome fun into his life is to sow seed in a fertile soil.

The following brief illustrations show how our objectives are fulfilled:

*Case I.* Walter could not be interested in washing his face and making his bed; he saw no use in repeating these operations day after day. He appeared to have no objection whatever to dirt and disorder and to feel that a vacation consisted of freedom from such unpleasant tasks as were demanded by our standards of cleanliness and tidiness. As we knew the sanitary and aesthetic conditions in his home to be deplorable we were at no loss to understand how he came by his lack of interest. After the first few days at camp the boy realized that all the other members of his cottage were earning recognition for their efforts

<sup>2</sup> HADLEY S. DIMOCK and CHARLES E. HENDRY, "Camping and Character," p. 147, Association Press, New York, 1929.

<sup>3</sup> BERNARD S. MASON, "Camping and Education," The McCall Co., New York, 1930.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

in camp activities, and he decided that he too wanted to earn them. As a satisfactory personal inspection was one of the requirements for advancement, he very soon developed a cooperative attitude and by the end of camp was observed to be habitually well washed and combed and to have his bed and personal belongings in an acceptable condition.

*Case II.* Another boy, Herman, openly appropriated the wearing apparel of other campers. His actions were more in the nature of borrowing than stealing and, in his mind, appeared not to be objectionable. We learned that he came from a home where little or no sense of property rights prevailed and it was the custom for the first male of the family to get up in the morning to have the choice of shirts, shoes, and other clothing. We observed that this boy, as a result of this home experience, slept in his more valuable clothing, including his wet bathing suit; he supposed that any coveted article of clothing laid aside for the night might be appropriated by another member of the cottage family. This boy learned a great deal about property rights when we insisted upon his removing his clothing for the night and he found that he could do so with safety.

*Case III.* Gilbert, who feared that he might be considered a "sissie," entertained the camp with vulgar and revolting stories. He learned decent standards of manhood in the sex-hygiene class when he discovered that it was possible to think and talk about sex in a clean manner.

Many other boys who were subconsciously trying to live up to their "bad-boy" reputations saw the light when they found that the established standards in camp called for actions entirely different from those to which they had been so valiantly devoting themselves. These revelations and their accompanying behavior changes were especially noticeable in second- and third-year campers who had a year's chance to think over and evaluate our camp standards.

Through the medium of stimulated individual activities camp should reveal to the boy the potentialities within himself; it should reveal to him the fact, missed especially by many of the follower type of boys, that he has an independent brain and thinking apparatus and complete action machinery of his own, and that he is capable both of choosing his goal in life and of steering his course toward it. We have in mind the case of Roger:

*Case IV.* Roger was a fourteen-year-old boy of limited intelligence. He had always been a "tag-along" of his younger but more intelligent brother, who was the leader of a delinquent gang that had given police

and juvenile authorities much trouble. Camp leaders believed that Roger should be removed from the influence of other members of the gang. He was placed in a separate cottage and prodded into doing his own thinking and planning. He was somewhat surprised to discover his own ability to act independently, and he liked the condition so well that he did not rejoin the gang after camp and has not been involved in any of their subsequent delinquencies.

Camp offers an unparalleled opportunity to establish mutual acquaintances and mutual understandings. Not only do we get a better understanding of the boy's personality traits, needs, and viewpoints, but he learns to trust us and to appreciate and accept our proffer of help. Summarily, our objective is to establish for the boy new interests and new standards, and then to awaken him to the fact that they are desirable and within his reach. This and only this leads to behavior change.

One of our major problems, as already stressed, has been the selection and training of personnel to carry out the aims of the camp. The essence of true leadership is that quality of being able to instill in others the will to do. To lead constructively one must have patience, sympathy, and understanding, but over and above these things he must have such qualities as will inspire others to follow him and to mimic the things he does and the way he does them. Mr. Mason constantly reminds us: "The important thing is that we are constantly, unceasingly, both consciously and unconsciously taking over habit by imitation."<sup>5</sup>

So it is that in selecting counselors we must learn to avoid dull, tedious, uninteresting men. If a boy is to be interested in an activity the leader should be contagiously enthusiastic, for if he lets the activity appear to be a drudgery to him the boy, too, will likely look upon it as a drudgery. The boy will be won over to activities new to him more readily by a dynamic leader than by the attractions of the activity itself. But more than any other individual the character of the director leaves its imprint on them ("campways"—by which is meant the collective standards and traditions of the camp)—it is his idealism, his sense of values and objectives which give tone to the traditions and in the end determine their quality. Needless to say, however, the ability of his personality to affect the traditions is greatly diminished if he surrounds

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.

himself with counselors not in complete sympathetic accord with his ideals.<sup>6</sup>

In addition to these general and abstract qualifications and requirements for counselors there are several specific qualifications for staff members proposing to work with maladjusted boys. If the best camp procedures are followed the counselor will be expected to be adept in handling some one or more of the scheduled activities, besides heading up one of the cabin groups as senior counselor. But herein lies the difference: An ordinary counselor, trained in an ordinary camp with normally adjusted boys, will find himself in desperate need of special training for his task in a special camp of delinquent boys, for here he will be working with subjects whose needs and problems are different from those of the normal subjects with whom he has worked. How else can a leader hope to instill the desire for normal participation in a normal program but by first understanding wherein and why a boy differs from the normal, his limitations, his methods of action and reaction, his biased attitude toward society, the stimuli to which he will best respond, and the many other twists and peculiarities of his warped personality that have played so large a part in developing his maladjustment?

It has been our practice, in arranging our annual camp, to conduct a training course for our counselors. This course is conducted at the camp and is of two days' duration. This plan allows for actual demonstration at the field of action, with the counselors acting as campers, concurrently with the teaching of theory. The men are also provided with reading material and are required to do additional advance study to prepare themselves for the task before them. Needless to add the more trained and experienced the leaders are the better, but this does not necessarily mean that trained social workers always make the best counselors. To be adept in the leadership of such camp activities as handicraft or canoeing, with reasonable versatility in the ability to grasp and use specialized methods, is more important than to be skilled in the usual phases of social work without the special skills demanded by camp.

Even more of a problem to us in the early years of camp, than the selection and training of counselors, was the proper selection of the campers.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

It was in this that we learned much by experience and paid dearly for overconfidence. During the first two years of our project we sent to camp a poorly selected group of boys who were chosen because they were among the most hopeless of the court's delinquent group and would surely be sent to an institution if something was not done quickly to save them. With unjustified confidence we hoped that camp would do the trick; but we learned that the selection of boys cannot be made on the single consideration of the seriousness of offenses. We recognize now that there is a distinct limit to what can be done with present facilities and knowledge, and it is extravagant of time and money and disastrous to the program to attempt to do too much. Therefore, in selecting our boys we found that we must consider the following points:

First, we made an analysis of the number of boys that could be effectively accommodated. This was regulated by the size and facilities of the camp, the size and ability of the staff, and the amount of money available. There was no overcrowding, nor was there any filling out with poorly selected candidates when the more eligible boys did not exhaust the camp's capacity.

Next, an age limit was set. From twelve to sixteen inclusive proved to be a practical rule. Always, however, we allowed leeway for precocious younger boys and retarded older boys. One year we tried a group with an age range from nine to eighteen, but the trial resulted badly because, with our limited staff, the programs could not be made sufficiently versatile, and no subdivision of age groups for participation in activities could be provided for.<sup>7</sup>

Then we analyzed the limitations of the physical and mental problems that could be accepted. A not-too-severe health standard was found wise; and it proved to be practical enough to set the lower limit for mental capacity at not lower than borderline intelligence. Communicable diseases were, of course, warded against, but many mild organic and functional disorders such as arrested tuberculosis, minor crippled conditions and malformations, *petit mal* epilepsy, enuresis, and others did not

<sup>7</sup> We believe that much can be done with both older and younger groups, and we hope to be able soon to start work with such groups. However, in this chapter we must limit our discussion to the age range with which we are familiar.

bar a child from admission. Mental and neurotic conditions did not lend themselves so easily to classification, and it was more of a problem to decide just what cases to accept and which to reject. As a general rule it seemed well to reject all questionable cases, as the camp was not intended nor able to deal with definite mental or nervous diseases.

Behavior problems, however, were in the camp's particular field, and it remained only to use reasonable discretion in selecting such cases as were susceptible to the constructive influences of camp life and training. In this, experience was our only reliable guide. Generally speaking, behavior patterns originating in irremediable innate constitutional defects of mentality and personality have not been found to be susceptible to manipulation in a general camp, while defects of behavior arising from earlier and present conditioning influences have been found to be likely subjects for such treatment. We found, in fact, that many cases of misbehavior resulting from environmental handicaps are more propitiously regulated by collective than by individual control. Since the misbehavior is the reaction to the stimuli of the environment it is obvious that to control the stimuli, as well as the child, is the most effective way to displace the undesirable reactions with desirable ones. This can only be done by dealing with the child in a group. Thus, while some success was met with in individual cases of misconduct resulting specifically from feeble-mindedness, mental disorder, and physical disease or injury, the bulk of successful manipulations were among those children who were the victims of careless and lax training that had not given them adequate standards of wholesome social conduct.

Let us now consider briefly some of the types of problems that have been dealt with at Greenwood Lake. By far the most of our successful boys have been from among the environmentally handicapped. However, among the successful boys have been cripples, feeble-minded, *petit mal* epileptics, neurotics, enuretics, boys with heart trouble, and numerous other physical defects organic and functional in nature. For example:

*Case V.* Fred was an interesting boy, who, supposedly as the result of a brain operation, had twice attempted to set fire to his home. Because of the circumstances surrounding these attempts we had always suspected the boy's misconduct as being the result of imagination and

suggestion rather than any physical result of the brain trauma itself. Working on this supposition, which proved to be correct, we were thoroughly successful in adjusting the boy.

Our experiences have not been at all satisfactory with congenital syphilitics, postencephalitics, psychotics, and other abnormally unsocial boys, and we have concluded that it is best to exclude such boys from our project. We believe that many of these boys could be advantageously trained in similar camps, but the leaders would have to be more specifically skilled, and the length of the boys' period of training would have to be extended.

As already stated we include in our camp a number of non-delinquent boys for the single purpose of mitigating the stigma that is attached to a camp for delinquents. We consider this important and are at great pains to point out to our campers that a boy does not have to be delinquent to go to camp. Before we began this practice we were troubled with a "delinquency-consciousness" that caused the boys unconsciously to tend to live up to their reputations of being bad. The presence of the nondelinquent boys has done much to establish an atmosphere of normality and has not been attended with the result that was feared, of corrupting the good boys.

Our observations in this last connection suggested the plan of sending our boys to other camps where they could be completely absorbed in a normal group of boys. This was tried but did not meet with the success that was expected because they were not adjusted to normal group activities and the programs were not arranged to give them the individual attention they needed. We now believe in a special camp where all emphases are centered in the special camper, but with enough nondelinquent boys to lend the whole camp an atmosphere that is normal in quality.

An important part of our technique is the way in which we apply control. The ideal condition which we set as a standard for ourselves is that all control of the boys that is necessary should ultimately be attained by the manipulation of the activities. We are very successful in attaining this condition. When a need for control arises an effort is made to adjust some activity to meet it. A speaker at a conference of camp leaders said: "My problem is being ingenious enough to devise ways of

making desirable action desirable to the camper."<sup>8</sup> That has been our aim, and results seem to indicate that we have in large measure fulfilled it. When our scheduled nature hikes were met with lack of interest a resourceful counselor removed them from the program and took his groups up the ravine "just to kill time." By starting them to collecting snakes and turtles he led them unknowingly into nature study, and that subject soon became one of the most popular activities of the summer. When the boats, rifles, and fishing proved to be the biggest attractions in camp we managed a dozen ways of using them as controls. The boats were put into use from bird study at dawn till star study at night; but only for those who met certain safety rules. The rifles were made available more frequently, more instruction was given, and new contests were arranged; but only for those who were working for their camp society credentials and who observed all the rules of the marksman's code. The fishing equipment was made available at all times to campers who were in good standing. Personal cleanliness and hygiene were encouraged by daily competitive inspections; sportsmanship was taught through an athletic program that was so arranged that every camper could and would take part; honesty was prompted by an honor system and by the way in which personal and community property was handled.

We make it a rule never to force a boy to do anything he does not want to do, and we use persuasion conservatively. Such coercion is always a source of trouble. Instead, we try to offer alternative activities or to add new interest to the one in which we wish the boy to participate. These indirect controls lead to the realization of our objectives; and what care we by what fair means they are realized?

When direct control is necessary we try to use rewards instead of punishment, which is used only as a last resort. We find that many minor infractions of the rules, if ignored, can be absorbed in a fast-moving program, and other violations are the better controlled for being given a minimum of public notice. Although we never prohibited smoking and never expect to we had much

<sup>8</sup> "The Principles and Methods of Program Building," p. 8, art. in *Character Education in the Summer Camp*; "Report of Institute Held at Y.M.C.A. College, April 4-7, 1930," Monograph No. 5, Religious Education Association, June, 1930.



better success in controlling it after we gave up our determination to "stamp out smoking even if we have to send the whole camp home" and adopted the policy of indirect control with as little open recognition as possible.

Punishment, when finally necessitated, is never standardized but is always individual and conscientiously, but firmly, administered. Deprivation of privileges, docking dessert, confining to quarters, and occasional assigning of extra work are our most usual punishments. A boy is sent home only for the most flagrant or repeated offenses when it is felt that to keep him would jeopardize the morale of the camp. Some matters of discipline, such as rules made by the boys themselves, are adjusted by the junior counselors in staff meeting where they consider the offense in court-martial manner. The boys are often inclined to be too severe in their judgments.

We limit our rewards to inter-group competition and such individual contests as give every boy an equal chance at acquisition. We have found that too many individual awards went to boys who were more or less used to success, where the recognition did the least good, and discouraged rather than encouraged the boys who most needed the stimulation. Awards are tokens of recognition, the urge for which is one of the fundamental wishes mentioned earlier in this paper. Such recognition should be available to all and especially to the boys who most need incentive and stimulation. Our camp caps are easily available to every boy who is willing to complete certain simple tests required by our camp society, The Order of Kalocha. Having gained the cap the boy can earn his letters by completing other tests, all of which are within easy reach of the least gifted camper. Other individual awards are given for such competition as required effort rather than special ability, and ways are sought for conferring these recognitions on the less fortunate campers to whom such acknowledgments are the most important.

Another valuable help to control is the way in which we make use of the tendency to imitate, which is so much a part of boy nature. In training our counselors we repeatedly emphasize that early and continuous snap and enthusiasm will carry the campers along on a flood of ardor and zeal. This establishes a group incentive that forestalls much undesirable conduct and popularizes conformity and harmony with camp standards.

To many of our boys who have untouched latent powers development of leadership proves to be the thing to enforce original thinking and initiative by eliciting responsible, independent action. Leadership enforces effort and so reveals to the staff and to the boy himself his abilities and potentialities. Few of the boy leaders grasp the essentials of their task at once, but the blundering and consequent effort to succeed does them good and, on many of them, leaves lasting impressions that have been apparent in our follow-up work. When, after the first few days of inspired self-assurance they begin feeling their inadequacies, we help them in staff meetings and individual conferences with their problems, and our efforts are rewarded with many gratifying results:

*Case VI.* An intelligent, fifteen-year-old boy, Elwood, arrived in court as a truant from school. A medical examination revealed marked defects of vision, and investigation disclosed conditions of poverty in a formerly independent home. As a result of his discouragement the boy attempted suicide during the court investigation. He was provided with glasses and sent to camp. There he was made a junior leader. With the help of an understanding counselor who recognized ability in the boy, Elwood found a new purpose in life and became one of our most successful leaders. When he returned home he continued as a leader in his Scout troop. When he was seventeen the Scout master resigned, and since then the boy has acted as Scout leader and has led his troop in a most successful manner.

In making individual applications of the foregoing principles and procedures we make extensive use, in staff meetings and impromptu consultations, of the individual cumulative daily record. These records are the result of the group leaders' daily reports in which are recorded the counselors' observations of the reactions, behavior, needs, etc., of every boy in their individual cottages. The group leaders, being less experienced and skilled than headquarter's staff, are discouraged from making conclusions regarding their observations but are told to report merely what the boy has said or done. The matter is then considered in consultation or staff meeting, and suggestions are made for the necessary control. The results of such conferences, with salient comments of staff members, are added to the respective reports which are then edited and become part of the individual records.

We encourage each senior counselor to have at least one heart-to-heart talk with each boy in his group. We have had some gratifying results, too, from some of our junior counselors who are urged to do the same thing. Headquarter's staff members, for want of time, devote their attention to personal conferences with only the more urgent cases. These conferences, though of tremendous importance to our success with individual boys, do not owe their success so much to what we say as to the intimate understanding we gain of the boy and his problems. Therapeutic treatment often grows out of the personal conference and is suggested by it, but such treatment is not necessarily the direct objective of the conference. Many times the rapport and confidence that is thus established is enough to cause remarkable changes in the boy's personality and social adjustment. Any psychologist can account for this.

*Case VII.* Fred, previously referred to in Case V,\* is an example of this last point. Practically the entire diagnosis and treatment of this case was completed in one interview. After being satisfied as to the correctness of the supposition that there was no physical basis for Fred's behavior, the camp director gave the boy to understand, by attitude rather than by any spoken word, that the staff took no stock in the "hole in my head" explanation and expected an immediate change in the boy's behavior. The boy was assured that he was capable of making this change and that he was expected to do so.

The casual walk down the nature trail, the moonlight row on the lake, the friendly chat on the mess-house steps are well worth while for the mutual understandings and sympathies they bring.

Strictly speaking, control; to the ultimate end of securing behavior change, is our only justification for having a camp. When this control cannot be had by manipulating the activities we first try to get it by judiciously offering rewards and as a last resort by administering individualized punishment. The recognition and use of the tendency to imitate, the development of boy leadership, and the use of personal interviews—primarily a diagnostic medium—are other indirect methods of control that are used.

In arranging the camp's activities we saw a problem of providing a specialized program that would cause our abnormal boys

\* See p. 341.—EDITORS' NOTE.

to respond in the same way that normal boys respond to normal programs, and then of providing for the transition, after camp, from this into the normal program of everyday city life. This meant that we must awaken and widen the boys' interests. Their delinquencies, usually, had originated in attempts to satisfy, in ways not acceptable to society, their fundamental wishes. What better medium is there through which to help them satisfy their urges in nondelinquent ways than the medium of arousing their interests in constructive leisure-time activities and wholesome play?

It has been said, in speaking of boys' farms or farm colonies:

The advantage of the Farm . . . is that the boy is given a much wider range of possibilities in discovering and using his abilities and is subject to the rather healthy competition of boys of his own age.<sup>9</sup>

This, we believed, should also be true of a camp. The activities should be diversified enough for the camper to discover and use his interests and abilities.

As the center of gravity is the boy, and as his only concern is to have fun, we approached each activity with the view of making it desirable to the camper, of making it one of the things he wanted to do. Also, we realized the stimulating effect on a boy of achievement and success, so we tried to arrange our variety of activities in a way to give every boy a chance to succeed in something. For arousing his original interest we depended on a snappy, enthusiastic start, and because we believed "an activity should not be a requirement, but an opportunity,"<sup>10</sup> we avoided ardently the use of force and excessive persuasion.

Following is an annotated partial list of our major activities:

Archery

Athletics and sports

Boats and canoes [How they go for them. Always strict supervision for safety.]

Campfires, dramatics, etc. [These well repay the good leadership and emphasis given them.]

<sup>9</sup> WILLIAM I. THOMAS and DOROTHY SWAINE THOMAS, "The Child in America," p. 115, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1928.

<sup>10</sup> "The Principles and Methods of Program Building," art. in *Character Education in the Summer Camp*; "Report of Institute Held at Y.M.C.A. College, Chicago, April 4-7, 1930."

Fishing [Appeals strongly to some and not at all to others. We try not to encourage this too much as, when overindulged in, it breaks up the groups, allows individuals and small groups to get off by themselves too much, is too sedentary, and defeats generally the accomplishment of our objectives.]

Handicraft [Leatherwork, birdhouse building and other woodworking, whittling, etc. For want of funds and a capable leader this has never been developed in our camp to its full potentialities.]

Hiking [Plain hikes, bird hikes, contest hikes, star hikes, etc. Our overnight hikes are always popular.]

Inspection [Cottage and personal. The most intense competition in camp. Winning cottage is rewarded by watermelon, ice cream, or similar treat.]

Marksmanship

Nature

Order of Kalocha [Our camp society. Really a union of many activities. The membership requirements include: cooking, fire building, good behavior, handicraft projects, letters home, morning dip, marksmanship, nature, participation in all activities, stunt for campfire, swimming, table manners, tenderfoot Scout knots, and voluntary services. These are divided into sets of tests for the three ranks of the society. The camp cap is awarded for the rank of Brave and the letters G. and L. for the progressive ranks of Warrior and Chief. If properly started and emphasized this is always a popular activity and the most effective interest-building device in our program.]

Sex hygiene [Sex instruction is especially important to our boys because sex problems have entered or will later enter into the lives of so many of them. Many are found to have misunderstandings, unwholesome attitudes, and morbid trends that are astounding. If given a chance they approach this instruction with embarrassment and attitudes of "I know all about that," or "I'm not interested in that." We avoid this by taking them, without announcement, in small groups to some shady spot and beginning the discussion in an interesting, matter-of-fact manner. The information is eagerly received, and intense interest and desire to have troublesome misunderstandings cleared up are displayed by most of the boys. A set of government charts is used as an outline but is somewhat advanced for the younger and more retarded boys. While age alone is not so important there is a consistent difference in the quality of the interest and ability of the boys to understand. For all age groups we find Karl De Schweinitz's book, *Growing Up*,<sup>11</sup> to be an easy and effective way of introducing the subject. The boys are made to feel free to interrupt at any time with questions and comments. These questions are always answered unevasively and fully, and the boys display great confidence and freedom in their comments. The most common question of all is why they have not been instructed in this before. Other queries were mostly about venereal diseases and reproduction but are by no means confined to these subjects.]

<sup>11</sup> KARL DE SCHWEINITZ, "Growing Up, The Story of How We Become Alive, Are Born and Grow Up," The Macmillan Company, New York, 1928.

Swimming [Including instruction in swimming, diving, and lifesaving. These activities are of paramount importance because to many boys the center of camp life is around the water front.]

Miscellaneous [Calisthenics; cartooning and drawing; library, music and singing; newspaper, storytelling, etc.]

Although camp does not have the completeness of control of its charges which a correctional institution or foster home offers, it has the advantage of a healthy naturalness and a freedom from the stigma of incarceration. Indeed, it is possible to do more in a very limited time than can be accomplished if the boys feel that they are, by no option of their own, subjects of experiment in high-powered control and correction. It seems to be a matter of frame of mind. Children are learning something all of their waking hours. They learn from every contact they make with other people, with nature, with books, and with all the many other things that make up their world. Whether they learn desirable or undesirable things from these contacts depends entirely on the frame of mind with which they meet them. In establishing in the child the desirable frame of mind camp has distinctive advantages because of its skilled leaders, its healthy naturalness, its completely controlled program and environment, its freedom from undesirable influences, and its strong incentives for desirable actions.

It is a fair presumption that children develop undesirable character traits because there is pleasure connected with so doing. In camp we try to eliminate this pleasure and establish an equal or greater pleasure in developing desirable character traits instead. On the supposition that a child learns more rapidly the things he likes to do, we believe that under the above conditions our boys learn moral lessons faster than immoral ones. A child has no conscious choice between good and bad habits and attitudes; he thinks only of having fun, and whatever promises that he will try.

We try to establish a moral code by teaching the whys and wherefores of desirable and undesirable actions instead of setting up an arbitrary set of rules that have little or no emotional meaning to the boys. Without emotional association children do not get the deep impression that is so strong a fixing force in learning. This explaining of whys and wherefores is done in camp as a part of activities and sports. Fair play, sportsmanship, cooperation,

truthfulness, and many other character traits are firmly fixed in the camper's mind by their association with play and self-chosen activities. In their interplay with each other they learn to adjust themselves to social and community living and to understand clearly the reasons behind the rules and techniques of such living. The process is natural, pleasant, and in line with their interests, and therefore it is successful.

We recognize that, if improperly managed, camp can become just as strong a developer of undesirable as of desirable character. We are well aware of the wealth of potentiality for the development of good character, and that it depends entirely on the control of the camp whether or not these potentialities will be fully developed.

What have been the results of our work? This important question is difficult to answer. Until the psychologists perfect methods of measuring character as they now measure other human attributes we must remain largely in the field of speculation as to the results of any character-development undertaking.

We have been convinced, however, that we have been getting results. As we each year put on a more and more normal program we find that many of our boys are less and less abnormal in their underlying tendencies than we, in the beginning, thought them to be. We realize that instead of being incapable of normal participation in society's activities they are only suffering from failure to get started, and that our theory of giving them a simplified environment in which to get started is a sound one. Such innate and acquired instabilities as they have make it necessary to provide a pliant, varied program that will satisfy their demand for frequent, rapid change; but aside from this, once they are started, they function very much as other boys. Of course this does not apply so invariably to those boys whose difficulties originate in pathological conditions. As noted before, such boys are not generally susceptible to treatment in camp.

In studying results the thing we want most is an objective analysis of behavior change, but this, as always, is hard to ascertain with any degree of certainty and concreteness. The most usual methods used in attempts to measure this illusive quality are as follows: attitudes-measuring scales, the camper's own story,

observation of behavior, and behavior-frequency scales. These methods leave much to be desired, but they are a start in the right direction. Whatever system is finally evolved it must include a complete analysis of both habits and attitudes.

We do not have the services of a psychologist, so the best we are able to do is to evolve an arbitrary system of estimates and comparisons.<sup>12</sup> We examined several existing behavior-frequency rating scales but found them inapplicable to our conditions of limited time and technically untrained workers. The plan we adopted is to keep the carefully worked out individual diary records previously referred to in which are noted each boy's actions from day to day, his attitudes, reactions, interests, needs, habits, and all other observed physical and mental characteristics. Particularly, indications of change or the lack of change in any of these personality traits and

<sup>12</sup> During the past summer we had the full-time services of a skilled psychologist, who gave us much valuable assistance not only in measuring results but in studying and supplying the needs of the boys throughout the period as well. In both of these details he used standard test and questionnaire methods, and he continued and further developed the counselors' daily reports. He found these reports especially valuable in keeping him in continuous touch with every boy in camp, a thing he could not have done in any other way. He augmented these reports by statements and questionnaires filled out by the boys.

The psychologist, after examining many behavior-frequency scales, selected the Hardwick-Olsen-Wickman Behavior Rating Scale as being the best adapted to our needs. These were filled out by the counselors on the third day of camp and again on the last day and the results compared in an effort to secure an objective study of the results obtained. Each boy was given a Brown Personality Inventory in an effort to reveal emotional and instability factors, and all salient findings were carefully studied and taken into consideration in the final analysis of results.

In addition to the above means of weighing results we have taken many boys' stories, and a beginning has been made to getting parents' reactions. It is hoped that data of value can be procured from both these sources.

In measuring health results nothing was attempted beyond comparing weights taken at the beginning and the end of camp. The results for the last two years when complete records were kept showed an average gain of 4.9 pounds per boy for a thirteen-day period and 4.35 pounds per boy for a ten-day period.

(This statement appears in a footnote because it refers to the conduct of the camp after the Director was no longer affiliated with the court. It will be remembered that this chapter is concerned only with the conduct of the camp until 1935.—EDITORS' NOTE.)



individual objectives are noted, together with frequent comments and evaluations by counselors. At the close of camp these records are studied in a final, grand conference, and an arbitrary grade is given each boy. We find that no perceptible change has occurred in some boys, and they are given a grade of zero. The boy having shown the most pronounced change is given a grade of ten. All others are given grades in ratio to their improvement between zero and ten. By this system of analysis one of our best years resulted in 89 per cent of the boys showing improvement and only 11 per cent showing none. In making grades we realize that the arbitrary grade of 10 given the most improved boy has no universal value and therefore conveys to the reader a very limited meaning, but knowing the particular boy and observing his improvement as we do, the grade has a very definite value to us—a value far greater than our original fondest expectation.

In camp we control the boys' conduct and attempt to instill in them the kind of habits and attitudes that will carry over into their year-round life and find expression in improved character. However, we have observed the frequent retrogression of moral learnings after the boys go back to their own homes but attribute it to the usually complete lack of incentives and models in their own home environment. There is such a vast difference between camp conditions and home conditions that it would take more ability than is found in most children to bridge the gap. The standards that are set before them in camp and the standards they return to are as wide apart as the poles.

Our problem, as stated in our objectives, implies follow-up. We need a more thorough study of old campers' reactions than has yet been made. We have seen that second-year campers accept the standards of camp more satisfactorily than do first-year boys, because the repeaters have had a chance to think over their camp traditions and standards, but we know practically nothing of how the campers' lives have been affected for the rest of the year in their usual social setting. We have not the slightest proof that our results have any degree of permanency; we think they have, but until we do more follow-up work we will never be able to say authoritatively. We know that during the last two years, we have had fewer boys who were subsequently in court than in previous years, but no conclusions can be drawn from this because

in these last years we have been more discriminating in our selection of boys.

We need to arrange with agencies having year-round activities to continue the work we have started in camp. This would not only make possible a better analysis of results but would also help project the attitudes and habits acquired at camp into the homes and everyday social environment of the campers.



**PART V**  
**EXTRA-MURAL GUIDANCE PROGRAMS**



## Chapter XVIII

### THE WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS, CHILD GUIDANCE CLINIC

SAMUEL W. HARTWELL\*

*Director†*

The Worcester Child Guidance Clinic is unique in some of its background and, in some ways, such as staff arrangement, physical setup, and in its plan of work, it is typical of many of the larger clinics. Most of its problems of agency and community relationships are those of the average clinic in a city of comparable size. The clinic is rather unique, however, in that it is a direct part of a state mental hospital. It is an organization serving the entire community and nearly every agency in the city, and yet giving full service to the Juvenile Court on every case referred by the judge who is very understanding and cooperative with respect to the clinic approach.

The clinic, instead of being established in the ordinary sense of the word, "just grew." The germs of this growth lay in the mind of Dr. William A. Bryan, Superintendent of the Worcester State Hospital. Several years before the clinic was established, Dr. Bryan and other members of his staff, under his direction, began to lay the foundations in the community for an understanding and appreciation of the need for a mental-hygiene service.

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† Dr. Hartwell was director of this clinic from July, 1929, to January, 1935. Although the article is written in the present tense, the facts do not necessarily apply to the functioning of the clinic after Dr. Hartwell's resignation.—EDITORS' NOTE.

To this end, Dr. Bryan early emphasized the community's need and its duty to make some effort to prevent or cure mental disease in its earliest stages. Very early, he expressed his belief that any such prevention would concern itself largely with children. He therefore stressed the need for the study and treatment of children, not only that the children so treated might be helped but that the principles of mental health which would have practical validity might be determined and taught to parents, teachers, and others who work directly with children. In presenting these ideas and having them generally accepted by the community, Dr. Bryan was ably assisted by several of the social workers and heads of the public and private agencies, and by many of the school authorities and teachers. In this way, Dr. Bryan gradually but successfully elicited the interest of many of the leaders in the community of Worcester.

The clinic itself began not as a clinic but as a service furnished without charge to one or two of the agencies dealing with children. The original service began with a psychiatrist and psychologist who gave it by visiting the offices of the agencies. Soon, however, the service outgrew this arrangement and was then housed in the Out-Patient Department of Memorial Hospital. When the service was moved into this hospital in 1923, it assumed the dignity of calling itself a clinic and functioned for three years as part of the Worcester State Hospital and was carried on by members of the latter's staff. At that time, largely through the efforts of the director, Dr. Henry Moyle, a child-guidance association was formed, and the support of the local community chest was enlisted to the extent of providing for a psychiatric social worker and a secretary. In 1928, a special grant by the Legislature of Massachusetts to the Department of Mental Diseases for the clinic was responsible for a sudden enlargement of the staff. Dr. Ackerly, then Clinical Director of the Worcester State Hospital, also acted as director of the clinic for a period of about a year, until the writer was appointed director in July, 1929. The staff continued to grow during the next two years, and for the past four years has functioned with from thirteen to sixteen full-time members.

In addition to its organization as a part of a state hospital, the most revealing fact about the Worcester Clinic is that although the staff has gradually grown from 2 people working one-

half day a week to 16 full-time workers, the number of cases accepted each year has remained almost constant. This situation is explained by the fact that as the clinic grew it became more and more a clinic where most of the children referred were taken for long-time treatment and more and more of the time of the staff was expended in better investigations and extensions of therapeutic efforts to include parents or other members of the families of the children accepted for treatment. In part, this constant case load was also due to the fact that local agencies became more aware of the true function of the clinic and were, therefore, better able to refer appropriate rather than inappropriate cases. The case load has remained about 200 a year. The open cases at any one time usually varied from 350 to 400. By way of explanation it should be said that the clinic policy, especially in long-time treatment cases, has been to leave these cases open for a considerable period after active treatment has been discontinued.

The first problem of this clinic, as with any new clinic, was to explain itself to agencies and to help in the education of the workers or the agencies that use, or would be expected to use, the clinic's services. The policy of the Worcester Clinic, during Dr. Moyle's, Dr. Ackerly's, and the author's directorships, was that this education could best be carried out by the case-conference method, in which not only new cases were discussed but where treatment cases were periodically restudied and reinterpreted. The thought back of this practice was that mental-hygiene advances in the community would be served best by studying and treating fewer cases and spending more time in trying to educate others and increasing the staff knowledge of the etiology of such problems and the nature of their treatment. Steady progress was made in this direction until almost every agency in the city, more than 40, used the clinic and found it in some degree helpful. Parents, too, became more aware of the clinic and brought children in directly. Likewise, the schools referred a constantly increasing number of children. About one-fourth of the total cases were from the Juvenile Court, and the remainder from a variety of other agencies, such as the Children's Friend Society, the Board of Public Welfare, Associated Charities (a private family society), and the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. With the exception of the schools, the agencies were always served in their important



cases. This success in thoroughly educating community agencies placed the Worcester Child Guidance Clinic in the fortunate position of having agency workers thoroughly enough informed about child guidance not to refer inappropriate or unimportant cases, and not insisting upon a referral after the case had been evaluated by the clinic and agency social worker. This position, of course, enhanced the effectiveness of the clinic with respect to cases that were accepted. For a new clinic especially, these accomplishments were at least as much to be sought for and prized as were successful results in treatment itself.

The community of Worcester, during the first years, had the clinic service given to it without cost. Gradually, it has assumed a part of the burden of the cost, through the community chest and through the Child Guidance Association, which has provided the building that houses the clinic. This assumption of the cost burden was being rapidly increased until the time of the depression, but has since remained at a standstill. The state, which contributed during the writer's directorship about three-fourths of the budget, has continued its support uninterrupted and has even increased it slightly. This is a healthy way for a clinic to grow; but, in the writer's opinion, the community, which the clinic serves, should assume ultimately the entire financial burden. There is no reason for outside support except during the period of community education and appreciation of clinic procedure.

The Worcester Clinic has for the past five years been housed in an old and commodious residence that has outlived its usefulness as a private home of its type. Within a short distance of the center of the city, it is situated on a hill in an entirely middle-class residential section, not far from four hospitals, and two miles from the Worcester State Hospital grounds. In the beginning, it was felt by many that the clinic would not be understood or accepted, if it were thought of as an Out-Patient Department of the Worcester State Hospital. Dr. Bryan felt very definitely that the clinic could overcome any handicaps that might arise from this attitude and constantly pointed out the advantages of a clinic so organized.

The writer of this chapter assumed directorship of the clinic, feeling that there were many disadvantages to this arrangement and few advantages. At the end of his service, however, his

opinion was that there were no disadvantages and that the advantages were tremendous. This, of course, might not be the case in other cities. A large factor in making this particular organization advantageous in the city of Worcester was the personality and faith of Dr. Bryan, Superintendent of the Worcester State Hospital. Dr. Bryan has been very successful in winning the interest and support of the residents of Worcester for the State Hospital itself. In Worcester the State Hospital is almost a social center. There are few socially minded residents of Worcester who have not at one time or another gone to the state hospital on some pleasant and satisfying errand. Committee meetings, lectures, courses in mental hygiene, entertainments for the patients and by the patients, horse shows, flower shows, and board meetings all draw people to the hospital. Everyone who wishes to see the hospital in its entirety is given this permission and Dr. Bryan and his staff are constantly preaching the doctrine that mental patients do get well and that one of the things that helps them get well is a more intelligent and understanding attitude on the public's part toward them when they are sick. Thus, in being a structural part of this large modern hospital, the Worcester Child Guidance Clinic shared the latter's good community relationships and began its existence in a predominantly friendly atmosphere.

From its earliest conception, child guidance has functioned in and with juvenile courts. In the early days of child guidance, many people thought of it only in connection with the treatment of juvenile delinquency. At one time, this attitude created a problem for a child-guidance clinic. Fortunately, this time has largely passed. Now, nearly all clinics include the study and treatment of cases referred to them from a juvenile court as only a part of their task.

The psychiatric treatment of a juvenile delinquent is both a duty and a challenge to psychiatry, especially to psychiatry as it functions in a child-guidance clinic. It is a duty, especially in clinics supported by public contributions or official grants, since the problem of juvenile delinquency is so very important and the courts need every help that can be given them in attacking the problem. It is a challenge because if the general ideas in back of mental-hygiene programs are valid and practical, they should and will prove so when brought into play with children who are

delinquent, for there is implied in such programs the notion that fundamentally all behavior has its mental equivalent, and if behavior is permanently to change, something has to happen in the mental adjustments of the individual. It is a challenge, also, because in the earliest days of mental hygiene, through Dr. Healy's epoch-making books, "Mental Conflicts and Delinquency" and "The Individual Delinquent," child guidance promised to give service in this field and came to be supported, at least in part, by sincere individuals who wanted this promise fulfilled.

With this background of the Worcester Child Guidance Clinic, let us enumerate and then discuss the means with which it has attempted to help the court and the community with its problem of juvenile delinquency:

1. By dealing directly with the individual delinquent child through psychotherapeutic treatment with the aim of preventing the repetition of the child's delinquent acts. This may be done in several ways:

a. Through the direct treatment of the child by the psychiatrist and his assistants.

b. Through treatment given by the probation officers and teachers, such treatment being planned by the clinic and carried out under its supervision.

c. Through treatment of the parents by the psychiatrist or psychiatric social worker. This treatment is especially thought of as being useful in cases where the parent's attitudes create a pathological situation for the child or where these attitudes and the incorrect interpretation of the child and his behavior prevents the parents from wisely dealing with the child's problems.

d. Through giving the judge and the probation officer an insight into the child's mental life, obtained by a psychiatric examination, and through presenting a thorough social study of the child's situation to enable those in authority to make better social adjustments or instigate a more effective treatment for the individual child.

2. By treating the children who will probably become delinquent, before they become delinquent enough to be brought into court or even before they present any behavior problems at all and are seen only as unhappy, maladjusted, peculiar, or neurotic children. In Worcester, as in many other places, such children

are often referred by the probation officer who comes to know them through his contact with other children in the family or in the neighborhood.

3. On the basis of the study and interpretation of individual children and particular social situations, informing and educating others who are in authority over the children as to the causal relationship of such things as mental conflicts and delinquency.

4. Through joint follow-up and research on cases thoroughly studied and treated by the court and the clinic, learning facts and evaluating treatment in a much more constructive way than may be done by the court alone without the help of the clinic.

5. Through the clinic's functioning as a therapeutic and research unit as well as a study and diagnostic one, clinic staff members come to understand the community and the children of that community in a way that makes it possible for them to make suggestions to other agencies, to teachers and parents, so that these latter may early recognize and more directly attack the factors contributing to delinquency.

During the writer's work in Worcester, all of these above means of possible usefulness were attempted. They will now be discussed individually with two aims in mind. First, to describe briefly the Worcester experience; secondly, to express the ideas and interpretations of the writer concerning various aspects of the treatment of young delinquents.

Psychiatric treatment, or psychotherapy, largely depends for its success on the rapport or emotional relationship that exists between the therapist and the one being treated. This is not only true of therapy but, in a large measure, is true in a diagnostic study of the child, since the child often does not or cannot reveal himself except in so far as the person with whom he is talking brings to him certain feelings of security and the desire for self-revelation. No two psychiatrists verbalize their ideas in exactly the same way. Possibly, no two psychiatrists verbalize their interpretation of therapy in the same way, even though it may be very similar.

During a five and one-half year period,\* the Juvenile Court of Worcester referred more than 3,000 cases to the clinic. More than 50 per cent of these children were carried by the clinic staff

\* The term of Dr. Hartwell's directorship.—EDITORS' NOTE.

for a considerable period of time as treatment cases. This figure includes a group of about 30 cases, the treatment of which was continued in reformatory institutions, the therapist visiting the institution to which the child had been committed. Until the middle of the five and one-half year period, many of the children referred could be roughly classified as belonging to the mildly delinquent group. At this midway point, the state law of Massachusetts was changed making it obligatory that the judge of the Juvenile Court refer all children for examination before they are committed. Because the Court had been using the clinic very freely before the law was passed, its passage did not result in any noticeable increase in the number of children referred by the Court. About the time this law became effective, however, the pressure of general clinic work made it necessary to limit the number of cases taken from the Court. This limitation in the number of cases and the necessity on the part of the Court for referring all children before commitment resulted in the referral of fewer mildly delinquent and more of the seriously delinquent children. Consequently, the character of the cases referred by the Court, but not the number, changed during the last half of the total period of time on which this discussion is based.

The five and one-half year period was also roughly divided into two equal parts as regards the proportion of cases examined in the clinic that were immediately committed to correctional institutions. Because of the desire of the Court to have as much help as possible on the milder cases and first offenders, and the limitations of the clinic as to time available for court cases, many chronically offending children, before the passage of the aforementioned state law, were committed to institutions without clinic study. During this period less than 5 per cent of the court referrals were immediately committed to an institution following clinic study. This law became effective about the middle of the five and one-half year period, and it then became necessary to examine all children before commitment. Those children who were chronic offenders and practically certain to be committed, therefore, became a part of the clinic's court-case load, and the percentage of children, for whom the clinic recommended immediate commitment, rose to approximately 20 per cent. The necessity of referring all children to the clinic for examination before commitment increased the number of court-clinic

cases that were immediately committed by approximately 15 per cent.

Considering all the court cases, covering the total period of five and one-half years, and leaving out of consideration those children whom the clinic recommended for commitment immediately after clinic examination, less than 30 per cent have as yet been committed to any institution, and this last percentage figure includes, as its major part, children who were accepted by the clinic for short-time *treatment* with the knowledge that almost certainly they would be committed within a brief time. The purpose of accepting this temporary-treatment group was to attempt to help the child, in one way or another, to arrive at a more normal mental adjustment in life before he went to an institution. This 30 per cent also includes a few children who, during or at the end of treatment, decided with the psychiatrist that it was best for them, for social reasons, to go to one of the industrial schools. These few children either asked the judge to commit them or deliberately violated probation in order that they might be committed.

In the writer's opinion, at least an additional 25 per cent of all the children studied over the total period of time would have been ultimately committed had the Child Guidance Clinic not been active. The prevention of such additional commitments is attributed to the following steps:

1. Requesting the Court to allow the clinic to attempt psychiatric treatment, where this appeared to be indicated, and by this treatment bringing about the necessary changes in the child's personality which would make it possible for him to change his behavior.

2. Suggesting treatment by other agencies, and helping the Court probation department to utilize available facilities, such as child placing agencies.

3. Interpreting the child and his problems to the Court, which often resulted in a child's being considered as suitable for probation, although prior to the clinical examination the case was considered a proper one for commitment.

4. Treating other members of the family and changing the attitudes and behavior of parents and others so as to modify some of the factors affecting the present and future difficulties of the child.

5. Doing family case work in a few cases not served by family case-working agencies or which were not appropriate for reference to these agencies.

The writer would describe the treatment given these children (more than 200 of the series were his personal cases) as follows: An attempt was made with every child to have an important or "vital" interview. This means that an attempt was made to develop a positive, emotional relationship between the psychiatrist and the child to the point where the child would want to reveal himself, particularly his conscious, emotional life, as nearly as he could express himself. This important interview often took the form of a long, uninterrupted, and to the child, welcome talk. The "vital" interview situation sometimes offers the opportunity for quick intensive therapy that seems to have permanent value for the child. This was not frequently true, certainly not frequently enough so that anyone should assume that all children who have what seems to be a rather revealing and important interview with the therapist can be considered as having been treated, but this sometimes happens. In several of these cases, when the children were brought into court for some incidental offense and, for some reason, not seen more than once or twice, they later returned voluntarily, usually to ask for further advice and would not only tell us but unknowingly gave general evidence that some previous interview with the psychiatrist had profoundly changed their attitudes and corrected what seemed to be mental abnormalities. It also happened with a number of those children who were treated for a long period that both the psychiatrist and the child realized throughout the treatment and at the end of it that the first or "vital" interview was really the central and most important part of the entire association between the child and the therapist.

The planned therapy for the cases that were carried over a long period of time may be thought of as being of two types. The first of these may be called the *direct* or *active therapy*, and the second, the *indirect* or *passive therapy*. Perhaps the greatest difference between these two approaches is in the manner in which the therapist forms the emotional relationship with the child. In direct therapy, the rapport relationship is immediately sought for by the therapist and when obtained usually results in entire frankness on the child's part about his emotional life, and in reve-

lation to the psychiatrist of as much of the child's behavior as he is conscious of wanting to reveal. In the second or passive therapy, while the rapport is still the central part of the treatment, it is allowed to develop slowly, the therapist remaining passive and often being rejected and disliked for a time.

The choice of the type of therapy is seldom made independently by the psychiatrist. After the child is seen once or twice, a conference is held to achieve a picture of the child's total situation, exchange viewpoints, and decide upon the type of therapy. Most of the group selected for the second or passive type of therapy, the smaller of the two therapeutic groups, are those who in the original two or three interviews do not have what we call a "vital" interview, though some of them do. Those who have such a "vital" interview, but nevertheless are thought of as being more appropriately treated in the passive way, are allowed to wait some time before beginning the other type of treatment or are transferred to another psychiatrist. Children who are treated by the second or passive type of therapy may be described roughly as those who present definite psychoneurotic symptoms, those who are and have a history of being seriously withdrawn or introverted in their personality, those who fall in the psychopathic personality group in its limited meaning (a large part of whose affective responses are distinctly very different than those thought of as normal and where this difference has expressed itself over most of the child's life), and the children who are presenting definite evidences of deviation from the normal in their psychosexual manifestations (perversions in the sex instincts). Quite naturally, most such children who come to the Child Guidance Clinic are referred in other ways than through the Juvenile Court, so that only a small percent of the court cases, approximately 8 per cent, fall in this classification. Several of the court cases that do fall into this classification, however, are considered by the clinic staff as among their most successful cases.

The theoretical thinking behind the active therapy, as used in the Worcester Child Guidance Clinic, may now be briefly outlined. It is considered that each child needs, more or less uniformly and continuously, certain emotional tones or moods which tend to permeate the mental lives of most well-adjusted individuals. These emotional tones or moods are verbalized as follows:



1. Feelings of adequacy, self-expression, courage, and satisfaction in facing and meeting reality, so that the individual tends to look toward coming experiences with confidence and welcome.

2. Feelings of belonging to, of loving and being loved by appropriate people, so that the individual feels that he is emotionally attached to and cared for by others.

3. Feelings of having a faith, understanding, or philosophy of life, rendering life understandable and worth while, so as to make it possible for the individual to live happily despite life's confusions and frustrations.

On the basis of their emotional needs, we therefore classify unadjusted children as being discouraged, frightened, lonesome, or confused, recognizing of course that their feelings may have been repressed and have appeared in consciousness and in behavior in their opposite or distorted forms. By direct encouragement and interpretation, and by using the rapport as a force, an attempt is made to get the child's true emotional problems and moral needs into his consciousness and to help him verbalize them. After the psychiatrist feels that he knows, in a measure, what the child's emotional handicaps and needs are, both conscious and unconscious, an attempt is made to interpret the child to himself, and to interpret reality to the child or to change it in a way that would help him arrive at more healthy attitudes. Such social plans are made as are practical, and these are directed toward changing undesirable or "unlivable" environmental situations so as to further the progress of the child. On the basis of this experience, and by interpreting the child's problems, personality, and treatment, advice is given to the teachers and parents involved. The purpose of the total therapeutic endeavor is to help the child liquidate certain earlier emotional experiences and understand them, as well as to bring him new and healthy emotional experiences.

In the *active* therapy, the psychiatrist is often an active person in new and desirable emotional experiences, planned and brought to the child for their therapeutic effects. Perhaps an example will best illustrate the character of these new experiences. A boy with poor work in school, symbolized by the report card that came into the home every month creating a situation that was resulting in a pathological and destructive emotional experience both for the child and his parents, was assured that for a period

of three months the report card would be brought to the psychiatrist who would talk it over with him and sign it. At the end of this period, the card was produced in the family on two occasions when the psychiatrist was in the home as a dinner guest. Then, the child brought the next report card to the psychiatrist first and to the family afterwards, and finally brought all report cards to the family alone. Often, as in this case, such experiences proved to be the central part of the treatment, bringing to the child a series of emotional experiences that created new and healthy emotional patterns toward his parents, the school, and life in general.

The rapport relationship in many of these cases under active therapy is rather deep and the child's transference to the psychiatrist makes the latter very important and vital in the child's life. It is, therefore, a part of the treatment plan to assist the child to break the relationship gradually. The psychiatrist encourages the child to take some other adults preferably the parents into his emotional life, as a substitute for the psychiatrist. In court cases, this frequently is the probation officer or the foster parents. When the problem of breaking the child's emotional relationship with the psychiatrist occurs in regard to children in foster homes, the Worcester Children's Friend Society and the Child Placing Division of the local Board of Public Welfare always stand ready, with a high degree of understanding and cooperation, to help in this task. Not only in the active therapy itself, but in the important process of terminating treatment, these latter agencies contribute importantly and share in the responsibility for the degree of success experienced with court children placed in foster homes.

The indirect or *passive* therapy differs in some essentials from the direct or active therapy. The differences between the two types with regard to the establishment of rapport has been mentioned. With passive therapy, since the rapport is developed very slowly, this treatment requires that the child be brought regularly and at frequent intervals to the clinic. This is also true at the beginning of the active form of treatment, but in most of these cases, the regularity of visits is not important after the first few weeks. Cooperation of the parents is even more essential in the passive form and most of these cases are children who, at the beginning of treatment or during it, were

placed in foster homes. With the younger children in this group, toward the latter part of the period, a type of play technique patterned after that used by Dr. David Levy is used. In a few cases, passive therapy is used simply to give the child a non-threatening experience with a new individual, and no attempt whatever is made during the entire treatment to get any of his past experiences or emotions into his consciousness or into the discussion. With most of the passive cases, however, the final aim of treatment is to get the child to recognize and verbalize his problems, and with most of the successful ones the therapy at the end takes the nature of active treatment with its cathartic, interpretative, and recreative attributes.

The two following cases illustrate the methods of active and passive therapy:

*Case I. Active Therapy.* Paul is a fourteen-year-old Catholic boy of Irish parentage. He is just beginning the first year of high school. His mother died of lingering tuberculosis when Paul was ten. His father was a wild, extroverted, irresponsible man who deserted on several occasions and left home permanently after his wife's death. Paul lives with his maternal grandparents who reared him very strictly. He has no brothers or sisters.

Paul had previously been in court and was placed on probation. He has been a truant, has misbehaved in school, has been defiant, profane; has falsely acquired the property of other boys; has used cars without authority and violated his probation. He has dared the policeman and probation officer to put him in an institution. Paul was successful in school and considered a moderate problem at home.

The physical examination was negative. It showed Paul to be a very large, well-developed boy, with puberty established. His intelligence rating was in the upper range of the normal group for verbal tests. His performance ability was slightly better than normal. Paul was extroverted, boisterous in the psychological examination; seemed to work for examiner's approval.

Paul came to the clinic unwillingly, upon request of the probation officer. He was somewhat antagonistic, saying that he wanted to be sent to reform school without more ado. The first interview with him was used to create a feeling that the doctor wanted to be his friend, and Paul was not questioned about his home situation or deeper emotional experiences. As the antagonism faded, the boy showed that he was unhappy and worried. He came willingly the next day for a second interview, but was in an agitated state, and burst out with the statement that the trouble with him was that he was destined to go insane and was

already having symptoms. He was pathetic in his appeal to the doctor for help, saying that he never expected to tell anyone about it, but that he had thought the matter over during the night and had decided to do so. Six months ago, the boy had had an acute terror: a young man, who had been a companion of Paul's after his mother's death was suddenly taken ill. This young man was delirious and diagnosed as insane, and put in a strait jacket and removed from the house across the street to the state hospital. The grandfather (who assumed that Paul had never practiced sex habits and took this occasion to warn the boy and generally teach him a lesson) asked Paul if he knew why this young man had gone insane, and upon being answered in the negative, explained that it was due to masturbation. The grandfather elaborated and explained that this happened ultimately to all folks who engaged in such practice. He further explained that God did not forgive such sins and that if Paul ever engaged in such practices he would not go to heaven. The acuteness of Paul's emotional response to this explanation is attested to by the fact that he remembers a period of several weeks during which he contemplated suicide and thinks that he might have committed the act had it not been for his belief that he would not see his mother after such a death. About this time, he began to do poorer work in school and generally to feel differently, and the idea that he was going insane developed. Previous to his grandfather's explanation, he had masturbated only a few times. He had been entirely unaware that it was considered unhealthy. Paul's agitation was so acute and his need for immediate help obviously so great that the second interview was continued for approximately three hours.

The first interview and about an hour of the second interview were spent in getting the rapport relationship deep enough to give the boy immediate reassurance. Paul was told (during the latter part of the second interview) of the many mistakes of other boys who had been erroneously informed and foolishly warned about sex habits, and then, after the transference was deepened, the boy's own situation was approached. The securing of the transference was so successful that at the end of the long second interview, one would scarcely have recognized Paul as the same boy. He was definitely relieved and reassured. After the second interview, he was seen daily for three or four days. The grandfather was called in and almost forced to modify his statements to the boy. In his own way, Paul was finally able to appreciate how his delinquency was a mechanism of forceful forgetting of the desperate situation in which he believed himself to be. Previously, the conflicts with the police had been a distinct relief to him and he had really thought of the reform school as a place of possible help or escape from his fears.

Paul quite rapidly returned to his earlier, desirable personality response, brought his school work up to the earlier good level, and gradually learned again to feel secure and successful with other boys. His social situation remained undesirable, and because of this he was carried as an active case for more than three years, the psychiatrist acting only as counselor and advisor to the boy. Later, Paul came to the point where he could talk objectively about his earlier relationship with the psychiatrist, in which he was entirely dependent upon the psychiatrist for reassurance, approbation, and security. With the exception of some truancy from school during the first few weeks of treatment, no delinquency occurred after the long and "vital" interview with him. Finally, Paul was placed by a child-placing agency and successfully transferred to the agency visitor much of his former emotional relationship with the psychiatrist. The case is deemed a full success from a psychiatric standpoint, and considering the handicaps in the boy's environmental situation, a good social adjustment was made.

*Case II. Passive Therapy.* Gretchen is a sixteen-year-old girl, illegitimate, born in Germany. At the age of ten she came to America with her stepfather who had had himself declared her legal father. The stepfather remarried and there are two half-siblings by the second marriage.

Gretchen has been stealing money extensively from various people during the past two years. Otherwise she is a well-adjusted, well-behaved, attractive high-school girl. Though well adjusted to the members of the family she seems somewhat aloof at home. The stolen money is never used. Most of it is unaccounted for, while part has been willfully destroyed. Gretchen claims not to remember some of the instances of stealing, and to have forgotten what was done with most of the money.

Physical examination showed her to be well developed, healthy. She complained, however, of headaches, forgetfulness, and vague fears of insanity. Nutrition and general health was very good. She is of normal intelligence, slow but systematic in work, and high in volitional perseveration. She has somewhat higher ability in concrete or performance tests than in verbal tests.

Gretchen impressed the psychologist as being an introverted individual, given to considerable concern about herself. She does not have much confidence in herself, but she has always done her work well and taken satisfaction from this. She has always had a reasonably sufficient supply of good clothes and money. She cannot understand her own behavior or control it. She has tried "to figure it out for myself" without success. She deeply regrets her behavior because she feels

that her tendency to steal will ruin her whole life if she cannot find some way to control this tendency. She wants help and is determined to try to do anything that the doctor asks of her. When she tries to think about her past life, she has almost no memory of the first eleven years. Thinking about her compulsion to steal brings her to thinking about her own mother and wondering who was her natural father. She realizes that her stepfather loves her and has always thought a good deal of her, but for as long as she can remember she has never been able to return this affection, and this has troubled her a good deal. She feels badly about this because she believes it is her duty to love her stepfather and try to make him happy, but she feels that she can never do this. She has been unhappy as far back as she can remember, and as she talks with the doctor she seems to feel that the thing which would help her most would be to know all about her natural parents. It was not until two years after she came to America that she knew her stepfather was not her real father, but she feels that her unhappiness dates beyond this knowledge. In thinking about her mother, she cries and wonders if her own mother had a very unhappy life. It is her guess that there is something unknown and probably bad about her parentage.

The interviews with Gretchen were formal. She was told that she could best help herself by talking with the doctor about things of which she does not like to think. In the interview situation, she was cooperative. After a time, she was able to recall what she did with some of the stolen money—she had thrown much of it into the toilet. She recalled and reproduced her early rejection of her real mother who was in much trouble for stealing (this was revealed during the interviews and later verified). She came to remember her early idealization of her real father, and her stepfather's giving money to her and her mother. She needed and wanted this money. She accepted it but hated the thought of her stepfather's giving it to her, since this made her feel disloyal to her own father whom she pictured in terms of an imaginary ideal or perfect person. The knowledge of her earlier emotional experiences came to her through her identification of the psychiatrist, first with her stepfather and then, later, with her father image. During the period of stepfather identification her response to the psychiatrist was negative and she verbalized her rejection, dislike, and criticisms of the stepfather. Interpretations of her symbolic behavior were usually made by the girl herself, and these were given only slowly when not so made. The rapport relationship changed slowly, the stepfather was finally brought into the treatment situation, and the girl helped through interpretation and suggestion to accept him for what he "was worth" to her. Treatment was tapered off

slowly, until interviews were finally in the nature of advice and encouragement.

Gretchen's stealing ceased early in the treatment and has not reoccurred. The few neurotic symptoms disappeared (these were never very pronounced). A much better adjustment to her family resulted. High-school work was successfully completed. The girl is now happily married and the mother of a baby boy. With her family she has recently moved to a Western city, from which point she corresponds regularly now with her stepparents.

No thoroughgoing research following up clinic cases has yet been made. Certainly a part of the money expended for every clinic should be used for follow-up and evaluation. The evaluation of the cases of the clinic by the staff, based on the statements and behavior of the children themselves and the informal evaluation by probation officers, social workers, and parents, shows a very gratifying percentage of success in the treated cases. The writer, in his own interpretation, feels that many of the children who were not given intensive treatment were also definitely benefited. Often, a single interview with the psychiatrist helped the child liquidate or face some situation that potentially would have harmed him. All the success of the treatment may not be measured in terms of what has happened to the individual child, however. All the people who have dealt with these children have learned from them something about the technique not only of treatment but also something of the etiology of maladjustments, which, in the end, affects a larger number of children. It is especially valuable if what has been learned may be taught to parents or schoolteachers so as to enable them to help children avoid experiences, either environmental or emotional, that tend to deviate them from the normal in the fields of mental health or behavior. In this respect, something is accomplished in every conscientious clinic working patiently with delinquent children through the interpretation of these children to those in authority or those responsible for them.

At best, we can only make theoretical interpretations and formulate treatment plans on a theoretical basis, and our interpretations, our ideas, and our therapy can only be evaluated through clinical testing. This testing may not be done in the child-guidance clinic alone, for our facts and theories must be thought about by social workers, teachers, parents, correctional-

institution staffs, and others who know children and live with them intimately. If we do not pass our ideas along early so that we may have this kind of evaluation, we are apt to become sure of them to the degree that it will make it hard for us to understand or believe that we are ever wrong. If we are right or wrong, the sooner we not only find it out but that others who are dealing with children also find it out, the better for our progress.

Our educational efforts at the same time should certainly be conservative. Suggestions and interpretations should be given, but should be given as tentative thinking rather than as established fact and practice. When verbalizing to others our thinking about the problem of juvenile delinquency, we should point out two important limitations. Many individuals tend to judge a patient's progress in terms of his behavior, and it must be pointed out first that all the child's improvement in his mental adjustments may not be measured by improvement in his behavior. Secondly, it must be admitted that we cannot help all the children treated, and therefore our efforts should not be measured alone in terms of success or failure with those whom we treat. The more intangible things are often the most valuable. True growth of child-guidance clinics will come not because they have achieved remarkable success with a few striking cases or because they are rendering aid in the solving of many cases, but because they are establishing principles in the field of human adjustments, where they are now working as pioneers, thus helping in the solution of some of the problems which must be solved if civilization is to continue to advance. The rise and fall in the percentage of court cases committed to reformatory institutions is not, of course, an adequate measure of success in child-guidance clinic treatment of juvenile delinquents. Probably no one is able to measure accurately the degree of success achieved through treatment of a large group of delinquent children. Evaluations of success vary according to the specific manifestations of the child's self that are considered, the criteria by which these manifestations are judged, and the emphases or viewpoints of the individuals evaluating. Further, there is the question whether one may differentiate, for any particular time at least, between progress in psychiatric adjustment as compared with progress in social adjustment. Undoubtedly, most of the children under consideration here receive some sort of



help, of which only a very rough evaluation is available at this time.

If one were to question all groups concerned as to the degree of success in treating the cases under consideration and accept the evaluations received, it is the author's opinion that the children themselves would consider the treatment a success in a larger percentage of cases than would any other group. The policemen who knew the children, before and after their experience at the clinic, would report the second highest percentage of success. Parents of children who continued to live in their own homes would be third, but from these would come the most flattering expressions of clinic success. Teachers would come fourth, and this position would seem to be explained by the educational approach which the teacher must make no matter how thoroughly she may understand the child's emotional problems. The group registering the smallest percentage of successes in their evaluations, according to the author's experience, would be the foster parents. This can be explained by the fact that foster parents, no matter how intelligent or well trained they are, feel the clinic to be, in a certain degree, in competition with them. In spite of this rating of the evaluation by foster parents, the placed children of this total group would show a relatively high percentage of success, as evaluated by the staff of the Child Guidance Clinic. When several of the above groups agreed in evaluating given cases as successful in their outcome, it was not assumed that clinic treatment alone was accountable, in any large proportion, for the success. In some of the cases it appeared to be the largest factor, while in other cases it made possible informal psychotherapy by parents, foster parents, home visitors, schoolteachers, probation officers, and others.

Again, we face the extreme difficulty of evaluating psychotherapy. We do know that it alone will only occasionally readjust a delinquent boy or girl, and the general indication is that the well-staffed Child Guidance Clinic will more often share successes, always in varying degree, with all other agencies concerned in human adjustments.

The author strongly subscribes to the idea that the treatment of delinquent children is one of the duties of Child Guidance Clinics. We should be entirely willing that our theories and practices should be tested on these children. We should freely

admit that these children need our help as badly as any others and that society needs our help the most in its problem of juvenile delinquents. The author feels, however, that the evaluation of psychotherapy as practiced in Child Guidance Clinics should not be made on a basis of the study of results obtained in the group of delinquents alone. Psychiatric clinics, dealing with problems in the field of children's maladjustments, are attempting to aid in the solution of varied problems in child rearing and training as well as to approach this most important social problem of delinquency. We, as clinicians, need all the faith in our methods which we can build, to the end that we may go through a long enough period of trial as a publicly supported agency so that a true and accurate evaluation of mental-hygiene work and of psychiatry may be made.

## Chapter XIX

### THE ALFRED WILLSON CHILDREN'S CENTER, COLUMBUS, OHIO

BERTHA FULTON\*

*Executive Secretary*

The Alfred Willson Children's Center of Columbus, Ohio, is a private social agency which was established in 1930 for the purpose of assisting in understanding and dealing with the problems of children who, because of various unfavorable hereditary, environmental, and personality factors, fail to conform to an acceptable pattern of social behavior. It seeks to discover and correct the causes of maladjustment early in the child's life before they develop into antisocial performances, which may lead to serious delinquency.

Through a scientific study and analysis of physical, mental, and personality components, and of the hereditary, social, and family influences of the child, an attempt is made to discover and understand the underlying problems. Then, by use of constructive, scientific recommendations and expert guidance, every effort is made to direct the child toward more acceptable behavior which may prevent his becoming a serious misfit in society.

Because of the conviction that prevention of antisocial behavior is possible, that human affairs and human emotions can be managed and controlled, and that situations in life can be modified and changed; because it was felt that the child is capable of learning new patterns and improving himself, providing the

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causes of maladjustment are discovered early and the undesirable behavior patterns altered in the direction of social conformity; because of the belief in these facts, the Alfred Willson Children's Center was founded.

Its establishment was based upon a desire to help the many children of the city of Columbus, Ohio, who were missing the joys of normal living, who had no opportunity to learn the fine, decent things which would help to mold them into upright citizens. Many children have never known a stable, adequate home environment with loving, happy parents insuring them healthy bodies, social security, and right thinking, which are the rights of every child. Because of the lack of these things they develop antisocial patterns and tendencies, become problems to society and threaten the stability of the commonwealth. With the desire to reach these children in their early formative years, before misbehavior patterns had become so fixed as to make it impossible to guide and direct them into more acceptable patterns, the Bertha Fulton Aid Society was established and later renamed the Alfred Willson Children's Center.

The first task in organizing this Children's Center was the education of public opinion to the importance of the work to be undertaken. The public, though often viewing with alarm the misdeeds of the younger generation, fails to take the responsibility for these misdeeds upon itself. First, the public has to be convinced that it is failing to understand the needs of problem children. Society censures children for truancy from school and frowns upon stealing, incorrigibility, and sex delinquency; but it has to be shown that these children need protection, education, guidance, and constructive recreation and entertainment. The public has to be taught that it is unfair to give children the stigma of a court record when their problems could be dealt with through a "co-ordinating community program for the development of constructive, wholesome interests, and the early study and guidance of children presenting problems of personality and behavior."

The interests of Mr. and Mrs. Alfred L. Willson were enlisted in this work, and it was through their cooperation that the Alfred Willson Children's Center was made possible. Mr. Willson had established the Alfred Willson Charitable Foundation in 1924, on the principle of "Scientific Prevention Applied in Early Youth."

Mr. Homer Folks, secretary of the New York State Charities Aid Association and one of America's outstanding social workers, has been most influential in the development of this program.

In order to fit this Center into the community program, the executives of all the social agencies interested in children's work were asked to form a committee to direct its establishment. It was their concerted opinion that social-service effort in behalf of the children of Columbus had been very much retarded and that the paramount problem was the development of adequate facilities for a preventive and corrective program. They felt that the work of any existing organizations would not be duplicated by the Children's Center. They thought it most desirable that a coordination of all the existing agencies now interested in children's work be effected by this Center in order to avoid duplication of effort, to conserve the child-welfare resources of the community, and to encourage the further development of the necessary facilities for a complete welfare program for children. This committee worked out detailed plans for the Center, and its members placed their signature of approval upon the project. The purpose was to provide a place to which all children's problems could be brought for diagnosis, and from which would radiate the facilities for the solution of these problems.

Two years after the establishment of the Center, a conference on Child Health and Protection was held in Columbus, Ohio (1932). This meeting was called by the Children's Division of the Council of Social Agencies. Representatives of each of the social agencies in the county whose work dealt in any way with child health and protection were invited to attend, with the following threefold purpose: (1) To obtain an objective assembly and presentation of facts; (2) to promote open and constructive discussion of problems; (3) to arrive at some practical conclusions and plans for the future.

The social workers made a survey of the children's work in Columbus and presented the facts as accurately as possible. They then asked J. Prentice Murphy, Secretary of the Children's Bureau in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, who had been invited to act as leader, to make a summary of these facts and to suggest the needs in social work for children in Columbus. During this conference, the need was stressed for more preventive work with children who present behavior problems caused by neglect,

cruelty, and maladjustment, in order to keep them out of the courts and institutions. It was pointed out that something more than a child-guidance clinic was needed:

A child [they said] which comes from a poor environment, with poor family background and low economic status, living in a dirty, ill kept neighborhood, where health, recreation and mental adjustment are neglected, cannot be taken into a child's clinic and presto, a few signs, a few tests, and he will be a different person. We must get back to the fundamentals. We must not force the child into compartments, but he must be considered as a whole. The underlying causes for these conditions must be studied and the contributive factors removed. Every phase of the child's life must be considered, and no one part neglected if the problem of the child is to be understood, and if any lasting good is to be accomplished.

The result of this conference for the Alfred Willson Children's Center was to confirm the original interpretation of the most effective kind of work which could be accomplished for the children of Columbus. With these convictions well established, the work was enlarged and pushed forward along the principle of "Scientific Prevention Applied in Early Youth," to insure health protection, improvement in social welfare, and mental adjustment for the children under its care.

At first, the Alfred Willson Children's Center was organized in a very modest way. Our policy was to grow slowly as the need was felt by the community. It was necessary to prove to Mr. Willson the soundness of the project and the sincerity of the purpose. The public, too, had to be educated to the functions of a center, and it was necessary to win the confidence of other social agencies, the schools, and the court. The Center was housed in a building which had been an old residence. It is within easy access of the heart of the city, in the neighborhood of various other public agencies with which it has been found necessary to cooperate. An attempt has been made to preserve the home atmosphere of the building in which it is located rather than to turn it into business offices.

The staff of the Center was selected upon the principle of the job finding the person, rather than the person finding the job. Our first consideration in choosing workers was a recognition of a compelling interest in children. We chose people who possessed the highest professional standards and who would give whole-

hearted service in developing the Center. Each worker was given a special phase of the project to develop as his or her own contribution to the Center. The joy of creative work and new adventure has been allowed to each worker within the bounds of our general policies. The members of the staff are all well trained, experienced persons of good judgment, not too mature, keen and alive to other people, and enthusiastic in working with and for others. An opportunity has been given to each worker to continue study at the Ohio State University, in order to keep pace with the ever-changing needs and policies of social work. The staff consists of a director, a full-time psychologist, a social worker for the boys and a social worker for the girls, a camp and recreational director for the boys and also one for the girls, three secretaries, a part-time doctor for the boys and a part-time woman doctor for the girls.

The Alfred Willson Children's Center is not directed by a board. Mr. Willson did not wish its development hampered by the conflicting opinions of the members of a lay board.

It was realized that the case load of children per worker must be limited and that these children must be carefully selected. Therefore, the following standards were adopted: that the children must be white, must have a chronological age of not below eight years and not above sixteen years, must be of normal mentality, and must not have been termed delinquent by the Juvenile Court. Preference was also to be given to those children from families that had not received aid from various other social agencies, and had not been determined socially inoperable by the agencies.

The work and technique of the Alfred Willson Children's Center differs from other similar agencies in the following ways: The Center, being a private agency, selects its cases and is not obligated to take any case which does not meet the requirements of the standards set. When a case is accepted for supervision, it is taken with the idea of long-time service. Every recommendation made by the doctor or psychologist or social worker is carried out under the supervision of the case worker and the service is directed from the Center and paid for from its budget. If an eye examination is recommended, the child is sent at once to the private office of an oculist who is paid for his work. If glasses are recommended, they are secured and paid for by the worker

when she knows the parents are unable to pay. If the child needs dental care the same method is used. If boarding-home care is indicated, the case is not referred to another child-placing agency, but the placement is made by the worker who finds just the right home and foster parents to meet the needs of the case. All boarding-home care is used as a phase of the treatment in building up the child. There is no scattering of service, since it all radiates from the Center. This method has been found to give a unity of purpose which is invaluable to the child.

The Center does not have the housing facilities for detaining the children during a long period of examination. They are given clinical studies at the Center, and then their reactions and behavior are studied in their natural environment, in the family group, in the school, at play, and in the community. If it is necessary to remove the child from the old environment, where the difficulty has arisen, and to adjust him in a new home, he is studied for personality changes, alteration of habits, and the development of character. In this way a coherent picture of the child is obtained.

The work of the Alfred Willson Children's Center has developed according to the original plans. The children are referred to the Center by the various social agencies such as the Family Bureau, the Tuberculosis Society, the County Relief Bureau, the District Nursing Association, the school, the Court of Domestic Relations, and so on. They are also referred by parents or relatives, by friends, or by another child. The case is at first reviewed by the executive at the Center. She decides whether the Center can be of service in the particular case. The cases are selected carefully, as the resources of the workers are necessarily limited, and an attempt is made to guard against a heavy, inoperable case load.

The child is then referred to the social case worker, who makes an investigation. The treatment of the child must be based upon a careful, individualized study of his case. The development of a sympathetic and comprehensive understanding of the individual child is a major principle upon which the work of the Alfred Willson Children's Center is based.

Procedure in each case is pointed toward a diagnostic conference when social, psychological, and medical findings are correlated to make possible an intelligent and effective plan for the adjustment of the child. The social worker is held responsible



for a presentation of an accurate and complete picture of the child in all of his relationships. Such a picture is made possible by an exhaustive social investigation which reveals significant facts and attitudes.

Immediately upon reference of a case, identifying data is secured to ascertain through the local social-service exchange whether or not the family of the child is receiving service from other social agencies. If the family is registered, other agencies are contacted at once to determine the status of the case. This may result in beneficial cooperation between agencies, increasing the possibilities for satisfactory solution of the present problem. Home visits supply data for the family history and show the child in his own "setting," the standards maintained in his everyday life, and the interfamily relationships with especial attention to parental attitudes and to the attitudes of siblings in relation to the child being studied. Neighbors and relatives are contacted in order to supplement, substantiate, or refute information secured by home visits. School visits are made to give a complete picture of the child's school life. School records and class ratings are obtained; individual teachers are interviewed to learn of the children's school companions, of attitudes toward school requirements and toward schoolmates in class and at play.

When the child or his family is identified with a church, the cooperation of the pastor or Sunday-school teacher is often helpful in developing an understanding of the individual. Recreational group leaders may give valuable information concerning the child's attitudes in group activities and his interest and abilities in various competitive games. Camp records are an invaluable source of such data. Employers of parents, or the employer of the child who may have the work record of either, may be the source of revealing data. In the case of a work record of the child, it may be important to understand the employer-child relationship; the relationship between the child and his coworkers; the child's attitude toward and his use of his earnings.

As a matter of routine, the child is referred to the psychologist for a psychometric examination to determine his mental status. Mentally deficient children, or those of very dull mentality, are automatically rejected.

Studying the child from a medical point of view is essential. A medical-social history of the child's physical development is

obtained, as well as a record of any childhood diseases to which the child has been exposed. The family physician, in some cases, is contacted to secure a medical history of the family. The investigator takes special note of those family physical and hereditary traits which may be closely related to the child's maladjustment. A complete physical examination is given to each child, by one of our two experienced physicians who are employed by the Center. There is a man to examine boys, and a woman to examine girls. At the time of this examination a Wasserman is drawn when indicated; in some cases a urinalysis is made; a vaginal smear is taken of all girls examined at the clinic. The child is often sent to the neighboring tuberculosis clinic for a Montoux test. Each child is given a reexamination every six months.

When the social, medical, and psychometric studies have been completed, the findings are brought before a general staff conference, to determine whether or not the child could benefit from the services of the Center. A plan is then based upon analysis and diagnosis of these findings and is developed to correct and remove underlying causes of maladjustment. This plan may call for the reference of the case to a family case-work agency for treatment leading toward family rehabilitation. If the child is to be accepted by the Alfred Willson Children's Center for service, the plan of treatment usually necessitates careful supervision in his own home, under the worker who is best fitted to cope with the problem presented.

An attempt is made to correct, modify, and alter the undesirable behavior patterns. This may necessitate corrective and preventive medical and dental, or ocular, service; the providing of clothing, shoes, school-books, supplies, or carfare. School adjustment may be indicated with a different placement in a classroom where the child may experience satisfying accomplishment, or sometimes a change of schools is felt advisable. An interpretation of the child to his parents, or other members of the household, may be necessary. However, it is sometimes the parents who need to be interpreted to the child by frequent conferences. Often the child is in need of some recreation, and the opportunity to function in a supervised play group, to learn how to dispense with his leisure time is advisable.

The plan may necessitate the removal of the child from his own home into the home of a relative, or a placement in a working home or boarding home. In any placement, close supervision is maintained. The carrying out of the plan is made possible through the resources of the Center. After the child is accepted for care, a personality study is made by the psychologist for a further understanding of the problem.

The psychologist on the staff does not restrict his work to examinations alone. He has under his supervision some of the difficult cases which need frequent psychological interviews. He visits in the home so that he may better advise in the adjustment of the social problems. He treats the personality and behavior problems and acts as a professional consultant who supplements his skill with such knowledge as will enable him to understand the client as a total individual in a predicament. He is concerned with the total life experience of the child and attempts to understand the relationship between his intelligence and the problem at hand. He enters into the field of social adjustment and is able to help the child understand himself, his family, and the social structure of his environment.

In the cases of all these children, it has been found that they present certain behavior abnormalities which have served to distinguish them from the socially accepted group of the community. There is conflict between them and the tangible environment, either in the school, the home, or in their contacts with other children. It has also been found expedient to administer another psychological test to some of these children at the end of a six month-period, to determine any changes or progress made in personality integration. It is felt that mental tests are as important to the child and to the worker as the periodic physical examination. By means of systematic examinations and interviews, the development of the child is observed, so that any departure from normalcy is quickly noted, and can then be adjusted. Such deviations, if corrected in time, may save the child from much later unhappiness, as well as prevent him from becoming a social charge.

The psychologist can contribute toward a clear formulation of the problem, as it sometimes happens that treatment is hampered by concentrating all efforts on the reported problem, rather than getting to the real and latent difficulty. By bringing the under-

lying causes to light, both the social worker and other persons interested in the case are enabled to make suggestions and modifications with greater assurance of success. In some cases, when the child is doing poor work in school, he may be found to have reached his maximum mental development. Or as frequently happens, the intellectual level is high for the grade versus age, chronologically. By means of an Educational Achievement Test, specific weaknesses in certain subjects will be revealed. Often too, an interview will bring to light certain inhibitory attitudes, arising from a home situation, which are interfering with school adjustment. The psychologist can offer substantial aid in the treatment of school maladjustment.

Under the category of *habit problems* come those forms of conduct that disturb the harmony of relationships between the individual and the group without being essentially delinquent. Bad habits impede social interchange by conflicting with mores, standards of good taste, aesthetic values, and physical health. This classification includes chronic bed-wetting, ties, smoking, nail biting, and sometimes stuttering. The psychologist seeks to discover the psychological and psychoanalytical mechanisms responsible for such forms of behavior and attempts to eliminate the habit by removing the cause thereof, after conferring with the social worker, who has made a thorough study of the home situation.

Where there is a problem of sex delinquency, the clinician, in conjunction with the social worker and the physician, probes for motives which are being satisfied by gratification of the sexual function and attempts to substitute other and socially acceptable modes of behavior. It is sometimes discovered that sex serves the purpose of providing a maximum of attention for an otherwise neglected child. Substitution of proper outlets and the obtaining of social ego satisfaction may lead to gratifying alterations in conduct.

The *unfavorable or vicious familial configuration* frequently exhibits subtle psychological stresses which are amenable to analysis by interviewing members of the family. Needless to say, the child from such a home may be reacting to stimuli which he cannot clearly understand but which succeed in causing him to manifest symptoms designated as neurotic and unstable. The social worker and the psychologist can frequently obtain excel-

lent results by attacking the problem together. It has been demonstrated repeatedly that a change in the family pattern results in marked improvement in the child's behavior.

There is another group of children treated at the Center comprising those who are in *conflict with the intangible environment*, under which are subsumed responses to vestigial and partially disintegrated experiences which manifest themselves in fears, obsessions, strong likes and dislikes, fixations, or other habits. These children are best placed under the specific supervision of the psychologist, and provided with mental-hygiene treatment in the form of analytical conferences and interviews.

The psychiatric interview is based upon a firm knowledge of psychological mechanisms, together with the ability to elicit confidences from the child. These interviews are oriented toward the modification of harmful attitudes in the child. By ascertaining the nature of such attitudes or behavior tendencies, constructive changes are brought about by presenting incentives for betterment. Logical persuasion is rarely successful, whereas exploitation of emotional dispositions may lead to success. By presenting to the child a clear picture of how he appears to others, and following this by suggested alternatives leading to self-improvement, the psychologist may contribute considerably to the eventual adjustment of his young client. Once this has commenced, frequent interviews in the clinic and objective supervision are maintained. Bimonthly visits to the clinic are encouraged in order to continue the adjustive process.

The category of *placement problems* deserves separate mention, since its importance cannot be overstated. To make a placement without psychological aid is inexcusable at the present time. The child who is being considered for foster-home care has often come from unhygienic surroundings and assumes a timid and suspicious attitude toward society. Or else, treatment with regard to some specific problem has been insufficient in his former home. In short, he is either the product or cause of maladaptation and requires a change of environment. In providing this we must make certain necessary analyses:

*a. Mentality and treatment of the child:* These must be determined in order to prevent further maladjustment by placing a child of high intelligence in a very mediocre home or a nervous sensitive child in a noisy or crowded environment. To expect a

high-grade child to adjust in a low-grade environment is to court failure and to intensify an already existing difficulty. Objective evidence of the child's intellectual capabilities and a knowledge of his attitudes in general must always precede effective placement, whether it be in a free home, boarding home, wage home, or for purpose of adoption.

*b. Foster-parent attitudes:* When the needs of the child have been determined, it is requisite that a proper home be procured. The foster parent who is ideal for one type of child may be harmful for another. For this reason, interview by the social worker and the psychologist may prove most adjustive. Our knowledge of the role which environment plays in social attitudes makes it imperative that placements be arranged upon a scientific basis.

In connection with the treatment of the children under our supervision we realize that their use of leisure time is as important as any other phase of their lives, for a child's first desire is for "fun." We try to meet this need for play, new adventure, and the desire for achievement and recognition, by supplying group recreation. In this recreative play and group "fun," we find that several needs are met. The health of the child is improved, his energies are diverted into more constructive outlets, he is strengthened and fitted to meet life more squarely. Every child seeks some activity outside his home, school, or church, and we have felt this should be provided for him.

During the early development of the Alfred Willson Children's Center this recreational work, such as swimming, ball teams, and camping, was intrusted to other agencies. It was soon realized that a rare opportunity was being lost. The workers attached to the Center understood the children, their physical needs and weaknesses, their home limitations and family background, their personality conflicts. They were better able to direct their group work than other instructors who had not become familiar with them. After the individual children were adjusted by the social worker they then could be placed in a recreational group, supervised by a group worker who cooperated with the social worker and who was employed at the Center.

We now have on our staff group workers for boys and for girls, who plan the program for the children under our supervision and then organize and maintain these groups under their own leader-

ship. In this way, we find we can offer an opportunity for creative play, companionship, and the learning of new skills, to take the place of demoralizing activities in leisure time.

The recreational groups which meet once a week during the year, and the camping period in the summertime, have become a means for the Center to adjust personality problems of the individual to the group. In these groups the children have found opportunity to play in a controlled, wholesome environment. Here they are free from an undesirable social atmosphere where their behavior difficulties have developed.

The aim of the Center in organizing these groups is to make possible an understanding of the child as an individual as well as a member of the group, to stand as an interpreter of ideals and standards to both the child and the group, and in every sense of the word to be his friend. We feel that above all rules or laws of an agency the needs of the child are paramount.

Within the group of boys or girls leadership is developed, so that the child has an opportunity to express his desires, to win recognition, and to live as an important member of society. Good sportsmanship, fair play, consideration, living in harmony with others are all a part of our goal.

Recently the workers at the Center have felt the need of group education for the parents of the children under their supervision and care. The problems and relations between the child and his parents have always been handled and dealt with individually, in an attempt to assist the parents to understand their children. It is felt that real benefit can be derived from participation of the parents in group discussions, through which they come to realize that their problems are not very different from their neighbors', and they may think them out together.

In these groups of parents, an effort is made to gather together those of the same social status, numbering from 10 to 15 in a group. Suggestions are made by the worker as to how to deal with specific behavior patterns by pointing out how they arise, and advising the parent how to handle them intelligently. The fundamental relationships between behavior and physical defects of the sensory and nutritional types are also stressed. Some of the effects upon the child of parental incompatibility are pointed out. The subject of delinquency is discussed, how it arises, how parents can prevent it, and what can be done to combat this con-

dition after it has become apparent. An effort is made to teach the parents that they are the dominant patterns in the lives of their children.

The constructive interplay of psychological, recreational, and social techniques utilized at the Alfred Willson Children's Center is well demonstrated in the following case, which indicates how these forces are utilized to transform a potential social liability into a distinct asset:

*Case I.* Jack was brought to the Center by his parents who complained that he was exceedingly untruthful, truant from school, and misbehaved in the classroom. They further asserted that he was chronically disobedient, stole, and persistently ran away from home. Punishment and reward had been equally of no avail in dealing with the boy's behavior. The mother stated that Jack had always been stubborn, that he began running away from home at the age of four years, and that his stealing developed largely through association with older delinquent boys during the past two or three years.

After a conference with the parents, Jack was contacted alone and proved to be a rather alert child who strove to create an impression of hardness and sophistication. He spoke in a gruff, offhand manner about "his gang," his frequent fights, and the inability of others to dominate him. It was noted that he was always prepared with a rationalization and was apparently impulsive in his actions. Some restlessness was noted, but no neurotic tendencies.

The psychological examination revealed a boy of ten years with a mental-age score of nine years, seven months (intelligence quotient, 96) on the Stanford-Binet test of general intelligence. According to this, he was classifiable as a boy of average intelligence and of slightly higher intellect than the average child of his social level. His reading ability was found to be very poor, as was indicated by a grade of 1-B on the Detroit Word Recognition test, and third grade for rate and comprehension on the Monroe Silent Reading test. His spelling was also found to be at the 3-A level. With the exception of this handicap, no outstanding disability was discovered.

Further analytical conferences with the parents revealed that the father, who was a taxicab driver of slightly better than average intelligence, had reached the point where he was no longer able to deal effectively with the boy's misdemeanors. It was also found that considerable parental friction was caused by the influence of maternal relatives, especially the grandparents, who shielded Jack from the consequences of his misbehavior and encouraged his disobedience. The paternal grandparents, on the other hand, regarded Jack as a potential



criminal and were outspoken in their diagnosis of a criminal mind. Both parents were dominated by their elders, and as a result their disciplinary efforts were weakened.

Another significant factor in Jack's maladjustment was found after it was learned that the boy became a problem at the time his sister, Irene, was born. Jack was in the first grade when this occurred and was doing good work. He began to run away soon after the girl was born and became disobedient. The mother then placed him with the maternal grandmother, who was too lax in her supervision of him.

The result of several intimate conferences with the boy revealed that he enjoyed the situations which he created, because they apparently brought him the attention of which Irene had robbed him. "Toughness," which seemed to him so desirable, was found to be merely a defense for a strong feeling of rejection by the parents. It was noteworthy that all his stealing was from the parents and not extraneous.

The dynamic factors in Jack's misbehavior were carefully interpreted to the parents. Jack himself was given an insight into the situation and soon learned that his belligerence and antisocial conduct would never earn him the attention and respect of worth-while people. In addition to conferences with the boy over a period of a year, he was also sent to camp for a two-weeks period, under the supervision of the psychologist. At this time an excellent opportunity was offered to observe his social reactions more closely. He engaged in several fights, but what was so extremely important was the fact that he was not punished for his pugnacity; but his attitude of braggadocio and chest-thumping was altered considerably by one or two midnight conferences and walks.

At the present time, Jack presents the case of a boy whose social behavior appears to have crystallized along highly constructive lines. For the last six months there has been no smoking, stealing, truancy, running away from home, or lying. His current report card credits him with three B's and three A's in major subjects. His school citizenship is good. He is much more stable in his actions, no longer exhibits objectionable aggressiveness, and accepts his legitimate place in the group. He is exceedingly fond of swimming and outdoor sports, particularly hiking. He is very independent in his attitudes, very much a personality in his own right and strongly extroverted. His extroversion, which was formerly obnoxious aggressiveness, has been transformed in such a way as to provide him with a very attractive personality. He is in no sense whatsoever a problem at the present time.

In the recording of our cases an attempt is made to keep adequate social records of each case. This case record consists of the face sheet, social-service exchange report, social history,

report of psychological findings, report of medical findings, chronological record, correspondence, school record, clothing record, and medical-service sheet. The face sheet is as concise as possible. This includes the name, age, and birth date of the child; address, school, and rank in school; church attended, date and source of reference; statement of problem, as well as the name, age, and occupation of both parents, followed by the name, age, and address of other children in the family. There is also on this sheet the Stanford-Binet rating of mentality and brief medical findings. The case being cleared through the Central Registration Bureau, the social-service exchange report reveals every agency with which the family or the child has been contacted, with dates.

The social history is made up of the following data: source of reference of the child, and date; previous contacts with other agencies; present difficulty; the personal data such as characteristics of the individual, what associates the child prefers, interests, education, and school record; then the work record. This also includes a physical history, as well as a family history containing the story of the family with the names and ages and background of the mother, father, relatives, and other children. The home conditions are next described, environmental and hereditary, and the proposed treatment plans for the child are stated.

The psychological report contains the determined mental level of each child and all the psychological findings which have been made during the subsequent tests and interviews. On the medical sheet is entered the present state of health of the child and suggestions as to treatment of any physical conditions needing attention. The medical-service sheet reveals all the care and treatment which the child has received. The chronological record is in narrative form, telling the story of contacts with the child and his family.

The successes and failures of our work are difficult to measure. An immediate failure or lack of cooperation may mean a future success in the heart of a child grown up. The organization is almost too young to do much measuring. The community acknowledges that the Center is meeting a real need in the life of the children of the city. The demand for its services is increasing beyond its capacity.

To measure success or failure in the social field is far more difficult than in the medical field. The patient who leaves the hospital stamped cured is more dependable than the child who leaves the reformatory marked stabilized. How long is his stability to last after he is shaken by some new situation or experience? The child whose case has been recorded as closed and needing no further supervision has a very annoying habit of demanding further attention.

We have learned to measure our work by the satisfactory progress which our children make. We may, by periodic reports from the parents and schools, judge as to whether better *rapport* has been established. The disappearance of undesirable behavior patterns is shown in improvement in school grades, the development of social responsibility, and increased self-criticism. All these signs indicate growth and progress.

The determination of the adjustment of the group of children who are in conflict with the intangible environment (these conflicts manifesting themselves in fears, obsessions, strong likes and dislikes, fixations, habits, and the like) is more quantitative. These children are given several personality scales, among them the Bernreuter, Brown, and McNitt Introversion tests. Scores are recorded and filed with a running record of conferences. Again, in six months, similar tests are administered and the degree of improvement noted.

Concomitantly, the empirical criterion is also utilized. A typical case will illustrate this: Herman, aged sixteen, was brought to the clinic because of a dangerous degree of introversion, truancy from school, and virtual inability to express himself verbally. The psychometric examination revealed superior intelligence. The Bernreuter credited him with 98 per cent neuroticism, 99 per cent introversion, 14 per cent dominance, and 93 per cent self-sufficiency. At the end of a year, during which unhygienic attitudes toward self-criticism were corrected, a serious mother fixation dispelled, and other emotional speech blocks removed, the Bernreuter scores indicated an improvement of from 10 to 15 per cent. At the end of two years these have further improved by at least 10 per cent, and the client no longer presents a picture of incipient schizophrenia.

Another group measure of improvement along quantitative lines consists of a study of the children during the camping

period. Each summer the Center provides a camp period of two weeks for all children under its supervision. These children are studied by the psychologist in cooperation with the recreational director and the camp counselors. Each counselor is required to rate children under his care at both the beginning and the end of the camp period. The Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Rating Scale is utilized for this purpose. Conjointly, the Brown Personality Inventory is administered, and daily descriptive accounts of each child's conduct are submitted by the leaders. In this way a progressive chronological record of the child's adjustment is obtained. At the termination of the camp period the rating sheets are scored and the raw data transmuted into percentile values for intellectual, physical, social, and emotional traits. These percentiles are based upon our own instead of Haggerty's group. Tabulations are then prepared which include raw and percentile scores for each trait per child for initial and final ratings. Net change, number of activities participated in, and neurotic percentile score on the Brown Personality Inventory are included.

In January following the camp period, Schedule A of the rating scale is sent to the schools for rating on school behavior. These scores are also changed into percentile values. In May, Schedule A is submitted for another rating for the purpose of obtaining data on the continuity of behavior traits and in order to evaluate the effects of supervision, mental-hygiene therapy, family rehabilitation, and so on. These data are added to the tabulated material already collected and are used for purposes of reference and orientation. It is our intention at the present time to transmute the scores into sigma values for each child, thus reducing qualitatively supplementary material to strictly quantitative terms.

In the plan for the Alfred Willson Children's Center the needs of the children and the demands of the community will determine subsequent modifications of the original program. The number of children's cases which we are forced to refuse is significant and will be a factor in our development. It is realized that there are many children who are automatically excluded from care because of race, age, court records, and mental equipment. However, it is felt that some plan must be worked out in the

community program to supplement the services which this agency is equipped to render. The number of children needing service is large, and many are being neglected. Much valuable information is now being collected about the gaps in the community program which may be of real value in directing the work of the Center.

The division of labor in crime-prevention enterprises must be allocated through a community program. Every public or private enterprise should function as a part of the whole directed by some central control. The schools should have sufficient visiting teachers to cope adequately with the school problems. They should also have an efficient psychological service and sufficient special schools and ungraded classes to meet the needs of the children. The teacher should be given insight into the family problems of her pupils in order to develop a more sympathetic attitude toward their behavior. The family case-working agency should have sufficient funds and personnel to meet adequately the demands for its service.

The court should act as a judicial agency and not as a children's social agency. The worker in a children's agency should have the cooperation of the court officers and should have the privilege of their services in accompanying the worker to the home of the child to issue a warning and to explain that continued misconduct may result in court action. An official affidavit should be used only as a last resort when all other methods have failed. The respect and dignity of the court should be maintained by a reputation that court action is something which should be feared and avoided. There should be sufficient funds provided by the community for foster-home care. Recommendations for boarding-home care, after a long, efficient psychological study, are rather useless when the necessary facilities for carrying out the recommendations are lacking.

From necessity the scope of the work of the Alfred Willson Children's Center has been made very broad to cover every phase of children's work in order that the problem of the child could be considered in its entirety—first, because it was felt that more efficient work could be accomplished in having all services concentrated and, secondly, because of the lack of sufficient resources in the community. The organization, being young, is

still in its formative stage and its program will develop or be modified as the need becomes apparent. The ultimate success or failure of this work will depend upon the efficiency of the community program for the prevention of delinquency and the cooperation of the agencies concerned in the welfare of children.

## Chapter XX

### BIG SISTER SERVICE IN ROCHESTER, NEW YORK

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Juvenile delinquency like tuberculosis is a product of civilization. Like that disease, it can be prevented, arrested, controlled, but, in the present economic and social order, never entirely eradicated. The medical profession has been laying increasing emphasis on preventive medicine and has therefore fostered public-health programs to prevent contagion as well as to instruct in the care of incipient and active cases. As a result, the death rate has declined from 202 per 100,000 in 1900 to 60 in 1933. In other words, since 1904, 175,000 persons have been saved annually. Consequently, that disease no longer leads the list as America's greatest scourge.

Delinquency is also communicable and it is devastating thousands of youthful lives, is costing millions of dollars annually for court procedure and institutional care, and is robbing society of its greatest heritage, the character of its young citizens. Much of this maladjustment leading to crime could be prevented at a less terrific expense to the individual, the community, and the state.

It is now known that teachers in our public schools recognize at an early age as potential delinquents certain children handicapped by poverty, faulty training, bad companionship, and physical

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and mental defects. Through studies made by Dr. Herbert D. Williams and others,<sup>1</sup> it has been discovered that these so-called problem children in the public schools comprise between 2.3 and 2.6 per cent of the school attendance. This percentage compares with the 2 per cent of children from the normal population who are adjudicated delinquent by the courts.

To meet the needs of these problem children as well as the normal ones, social agencies such as the Boy and Girl Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, J.Y.M.A.,<sup>2</sup> Y.W.C.A., and similar organizations have been established. They offer leisure-time activities to young people in classes, teams, and clubs, the purpose of which is character building. All boys and girls, however, do not have an opportunity to become members of such well-organized groups. Others are not groupists and refuse to accept membership in any recreational organization. Still others are too timid to join a club of any kind and by the time they are sixteen or older are definite individualists. Those who develop attitudes and relationships which may lead to antisocial behavior or serious personality difficulties can no longer be reached through group activities. They must have individual attention. To assist just such boys and girls, the Big Brother and Big Sister Movement was developed with the motto, "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure." It puts into the field of social service for youth the same principle, which, it is claimed, the Chinese use when they employ physicians to keep people well rather than to cure them after they are ill.

The Big Brother and Big Sister Movement was begun in New York City in 1904. Forty men, selected from the Men's Club of the Central Presbyterian Church, were each asked to take a personal interest in a boy who had been delinquent. Colonel Ernest Coulter, who at that time was clerk of the Children's Court, was stirred by the number of boys who were "repeaters." He felt that if someone would take an interest in a boy, try to win his confidence, visit his home and parents, and make a serious

<sup>1</sup> HERBERT D. WILLIAMS, "A Survey of Pre-delinquent Children in Three Midwestern Cities," 1931, and "A Survey of Pre-delinquent Children in Ten Midwestern Cities," 1932. Also ETHEL L. CORNELL, "A Survey of Problem Children in Twenty-six Communities of New York State," 1933. The two latter studies were carried out under the direction of Mr. Rowland Sheldon, Executive Secretary of the Big Brother and Big Sister Federation.

<sup>2</sup> Jewish Young Men's Association.



study of his character and environment, the boy might through friendship and personal assistance develop right social attitudes and not be returned to court on increasingly serious charges. "It is not the law the lad needs, but justice, the kind of justice a brother can give; the love, the friendship for which his life has been starving," said Jacob Riis that night to the assembled men. "Be a big brother to the boy," advised Colonel Coulter, and the name stuck. Each man made a careful study of his boy's needs and offered him companionship and friendship. Opportunities for wholesome recreation, employment, and other assistance were given. Most of these lads never returned to court, but became decent, respectable citizens.

In 1908 Mrs. W. K. Vanderbilt started the first Big-Sister organization in the same city to deal with the girl who found herself in the Juvenile Court. Since Big-Brother service meets so well the needs of many a boy, why not give the same kind of assistance to the girl in the toils of the law? Thus reasoned Mrs. Vanderbilt. When a wise judge realized that the young offender needed friendship rather than punishment, and an opportunity to develop in the community a normal and healthy attitude toward society, he would request a Big Sister for her. Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish women established organizations of their own faith. The movement spread to other cities such as Cleveland, Chicago, Denver, Los Angeles, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Montreal, Toronto, and Rochester. There are today thirty-five organizations maintaining trained staffs, doing preventive rather than corrective work.

There are four characteristics which are basic in the Big-Brother and Big-Sister movement, that differentiate it from other social-service agencies. The work is individual, personal, intensive, and on a case-work basis. A carefully chosen volunteer, instructed in the fundamentals of case-work treatment and supervised by a trained social worker, assumes the brother or sister role. The Big Brother and Big Sister must be of the same religious faith as the child. It has been proven that in a common faith there is a bond of unity with which to begin work. Besides, the tenets of religion can best be taught the child by one practicing his own form.

Big-Sister work in Rochester had its inception in the first junior high school, located in a congested foreign section of the

city. Several socially minded women, imbued with a desire to assist individual girls with their problems, offered their services to the Girls' Advisor. These women undertook to give individual assistance to an equal number of girls who were underprivileged but not wayward or delinquent. Something of the family and personal history of the girl was secured by the Girls' Advisor, who introduced her to the "new friend," who made a study of the girl's personality and environment. In order to do this she made from three to six contacts monthly. She learned to know the girl's family, was often consulted by the overburdened mother, won the confidence of the girl, and, one by one, helped her to solve problems interfering with her normal physical and social development. For example:

*Case I.* Mary Larkspur, aged fifteen, suffered from the demoralizing effects of a broken home. "It's a dreadful feeling to wake up in the night and wonder where your father is when you haven't heard from him in three years," said Mary. The mother had leaned heavily on this girl, so that a serious mother-daughter complex had developed. All the woman's marital troubles, all her grievances against her husband, all the intimacies of her unhappy married life, she shared with her daughter. "I must have someone to talk them over with," she exclaimed. The oldest son in the family had just married, at the age of eighteen, a girl of fifteen from a family with low moral standards. Mary seemed to be a potential sex delinquent when a Big Sister was introduced by the Girls' Advisor. It took considerable persuasion before the Big Sister was able to introduce her to a club of girls in a J.Y.W.A.<sup>3</sup> where she enjoyed her first normal social relationships. The mother was urged to visit the club and see for herself the type of program which the girls arranged and carried out. A relationship of confidence and mutual understanding developed between the mother and the Big Sister as well as with the daughter. The girl, often seen in the company of the Big Sister, opened her heart in their quiet talks. She revealed a deep-seated feeling of inferiority to girls of her own age in school due to the low economic and social position of her family. She hated everything connected with school life and had no plans for her future except as they were tied up with those of her mother. The Big Sister attempted, over a period of two years of developing friendship, to give the girl a wholesome, normal outlook on life. One day Mary explained with beaming eyes the gradual but complete change in her conduct and personality. "She made me see life differently!"

<sup>3</sup> Jewish Young Women's Association.

The group of which Mary's Big Sister was a member met with the Girls' Advisor once a month to discuss the problems that they were trying to solve. Advice and suggestions were interchanged and they learned from each other's experiences and were encouraged by each other's successes. Such improvement was seen in the girls that a demand was made for Big Sisters of all faiths. In a year's time (February, 1921), Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant women united their efforts in organizing The Rochester Big Sister Council with equal representation on the executive committee for each creedal group. In order to establish the work on accredited case-work lines, a trained case worker with Big-Sister experience was secured. Two years later, the community chest financed the newly incorporated organization, because the work was recognized to be of social value, not only to the girls but also to the Big Sisters who were becoming intelligently socially minded.

Like all private social agencies the Rochester Big Sister Council has had a limited budget. Consequently, the size of its staff and the number of cases the organization can annually accept has to be definitely limited. Therefore, selected cases have been taken of girls largely between the ages of ten and sixteen. They have been referred by public and private social agencies, visiting teachers from the grammar schools, and Girls' Advisors from the high schools; by hospitals, parents, and policewomen. The organization acts as a clearing center for those cases which do not require this type of individualized treatment. Besides, girls who are too inferior mentally can only be accepted in small numbers, because they do not offer much challenge to the ambitious Big Sister. Only a small number of really wayward girls can be taken, because they must of necessity be handled for an indefinite period of time by members of the staff, or until they can be transferred to experienced Big Sisters. Furthermore, the number of qualified Big Sisters that can be annually recruited is a check on the numerical growth of the organization. A worker or executive can instruct and supervise only about 125 at any given time. About 175 Big Sisters each year assist the staff in handling 350 girls.

What kinds of problems do these girls bring to the Big Sister Council? They are as varied as the individuals themselves. For a period of ten years, the largest group had been referred

because of unhappy home conditions. Many girls who want to live as Americans are handicapped by the narrow, prejudiced opinions of foreign-born parents, who insist that their daughters should have only the liberties that would be accorded them if they lived in the old country. Their unopened pay envelopes go to the family, and they are not allowed to be wooed in the American way. As a result, the girls, resenting such personal interference with their lives as Americans, either conform with inward rebellion or else face friction and become belligerent. These girls must be interpreted to their parents and the parents to their daughters, in order that some adjustment may be arrived at which will be satisfactory to both. Big Sisters can often do this, because the foreign parent respects the opinion of the American parent who gives evidence of having good sense and judgment.

One mother said to a Big Sister, "What could that young social worker tell me, the mother of fourteen children, about bringing up Olga?" She did, however, eventually take the advice of the Big Sister, who had daughters of her own.

Many of the girls come from so-called broken homes. One parent is dead or in a state institution and the girl is expected to bear the burden of housekeeping. They often feel that their efforts as homemakers are not appreciated, and they resent unnecessary restrictions. Such a girl was Ellen, sixteen years old and motherless:

*Case II.* Ellen was full of life and energy, eager for social life. She loved dancing. Nevertheless, it fell to her lot to care for a family of seven. Because of the fanatical bigotry of her father, she was permitted no recreation. As a result, serious friction developed in the home and Ellen, one evening, was locked out. There were years of wandering in which Ellen sought work in one city after another while the Big Sister, her best friend, wrote her assurances of friendship. After many attempts, the Big Sister secured for Ellen a satisfactory job and the girl was persuaded to return. She did all she could for her brothers and sisters, but two years went by before a reconciliation was brought about with the father, through the Big Sister. Asked one day why she was so devoted to her Big Sister, she replied, "Why not? She stuck to me!"

Other problems, often presented, are those of girls who have either no recreation and are developing antisocial attitudes as a result, or who are seeking recreational outlets in places where

ideals of conduct are low. For these, an opportunity must be made, if they will accept group work of some kind, to affiliate them with a club or team in a character-building agency such as the Y.W.C.A. This is a part of the case-work treatment in Big-Sister service. In the varied programs offered by such organizations, girls often discover latent talents, or outlets for restless energy. In team play they learn some of life's best social lessons:

*Case III.* Eloise was an illegitimate child and the family drudge for half brothers and sisters. So bitter and unhappy was her life that she often contemplated suicide. She seemed to be mentally deficient and was further handicapped by silly mannerisms. Through a Big Sister who won her confidence, Eloise was happily placed in a wage home. Then she was introduced to a group in a settlement. Here it was discovered that she had unusual dramatic ability. This gave her a consciousness of achievement which transformed her life into one of enthusiasm and happiness. "I didn't know that anyone could be so happy in this world," she said one day, after relating a camping experience.

Many cases referred to the Big Sister Council have to do with physical abnormalities. For example:

*Case IV.* Marie, aged twelve, was a victim of a serious eye malady, and a school problem. The hospital clinic and ward had accomplished wonders, but neglectful parents with low standards of living failed to cooperate. Marie was increasingly exasperating to the physicians each time she appeared in the clinic. The social worker there asked for a Big Sister to help carry out the doctor's instructions. In order to get Marie to use the medicine prescribed, gold stars were given weekly by the Big Sister. Eye conservation, the benefits of good lighting, and relaxation were gradually taught. Through the Big Sister's resourcefulness, added to her friendliness and sincere interest in the entire family, Marie began to improve, much to the delight of the social worker and the oculists. Today her eyes are nearly normal, but best of all, she knows how to take proper care of them. She herself is now successfully "Big Sistering" two girls of her own nationality. Besides, she is full of enthusiasm and energy and is an elevating influence in a family whose standards of living have now through her become respectable.

Another group comprises those who are handicapped because of serious personality problems, which may easily lead to moral breakdowns and antisocial conduct. Take the case of Julia who was referred to the Big-Sister office for work during the summer vacation:

*Case V.* Julia had been working for her expenses in a private school, but was unhappy there, because she was too repressed to join in the social life the school offered. She was compelled to do housework for lack of more congenial employment. When she should have been doing household tasks, she studied psychology and persisted in carrying a textbook under her arm. She made unconventional approaches to young men on the street who were socially inferior, yet she longed to meet men mentally and socially her superior. She began to smoke and drink in order to secure some social recognition. Because of her strict rearing and religious background this created a conflict. Investigation showed that Julia's personality had been subordinated, outwardly at least, to a narrow, bigoted, domineering mother, who repressed every natural inclination as "not nice." The girl had been compelled to find her only social outlets in attending church services. The Big Sister helped Julia secure an insight into the psychological nature of her own difficulties. Interesting work was obtained and wholesome recreation provided, aimed to give her opportunities to make satisfactory social contacts. An interest was stimulated in dress, which made her feel more adequate. She was able in time to make a normal adjustment to life.

When a girl is referred to the Big Sister Council, a social investigation is made by the fieldworker of the staff. The records of other agencies knowing the family are studied and summarized. Sometimes it is wise for the organization to be satisfied with a minimum investigation in order not to jeopardize in any way the establishment of cordial relationships between the home, the staff, and later the Big Sister. It is essential, however, that the investigation be complete enough to warrant as accurate a diagnosis as possible. If the diagnosis indicates that the girl's problem can be handled best through the Big Sister Service, the organization is then explained to the parents and daughter. If they accept assistance, the next step involves the selection of a Big Sister.

The women who are selected for Big-Sister service are personally recommended, usually by some Big Sister who knows the qualifications necessary for the work. They are chosen on the basis of character, interest in adolescent girls, and time available for efficient service. Such qualities are necessary as resourcefulness, sympathetic understanding of the problems of girlhood, desire for personal service, persistence, patience, and some leadership ability. Their training consists of several hours of lectures and

discussions in which they are made familiar with the origin of the movement and the way the organization functions. The fundamentals of social case work, investigation, diagnosis, and treatment are outlined and case material is used to explain how Big-Sister work is done. The obligations of the Big Sister are stressed. She is to make a minimum of three contacts each month, write a monthly report about what she has attempted to do and the success she has had.

After a woman has expressed a desire to become a Big Sister and promises to fulfill the obligations required, she is assigned on the basis of creed, special interests in line with those of the girl, and residence. The diagnosis of the problem is carefully discussed with her and the girl introduced. The first few contacts are often the most uncertain and anxious ones for the Big Sister. She is urged to be unhurried in her efforts to know the girl and her family, for this period gives her a splendid opportunity to study the girl's personality and the background in which she has developed. Just as soon as the Big Sister is familiar with her case, she has a conference with a member of the staff in order to plan a tentative program for treatment. This is made in writing, one copy being retained by the Big Sister, and the other remaining with the record. The character of this program depends entirely upon the nature of the problem and its diagnosis, but it is essential that the Big Sister gradually establish a relationship which will engender in the little sister confidence, a measure of affection and admiration, and a willingness to be directed. The Big Sister, familiar with the history and environment of the girl, is in a position to appraise situations and reactions and to understand the girl sympathetically. To just the degree that the girl is self-revealing, can she help her to understand herself.

The Big Sister works closely with the trained staff in order to avoid making serious mistakes detrimental to her relationship with the little sister or the organization's relationship to other agencies. Those selected for Big-Sister service are not capable in most cases of working alone. They need an opportunity for learning more about adolescence and case-work technique. They need direction in analyzing difficult relationships and interpreting their own work. They need encouragement when failure is apparent and they have lost first enthusiasms. The professional worker must, at all times, be inspiring and hopeful.

In addition to assistance from the experienced worker, the newly selected Big Sister has the benefit of meeting monthly with a group just as the first Big Sisters did. These groups, directed by an annually elected chairman, are homogeneous. Every other month each Big Sister reads a written report of a case she has handled or relates what she has attempted to do to meet her immediate problem. The little sister's name is not mentioned, but perplexing situations are objectively discussed and suggestions exchanged. The executive secretary, who is always present, gives to the Big Sisters the benefit of her training and experience. A lecture is given on the alternate month to the united groups, followed by active discussions. Such subjects as, "Some Serious Phases of Adolescence" and "Why a Girl Steals," are presented. In this way, year after year, the Big Sister gradually builds up a fund of knowledge and a considerable case-work technique.

What does the Big Sister, who has established a working relationship with the girl, actually do? It all depends upon the nature of the problems with which she has to deal. Interagency cooperation is essential in the development of a Big Sister's program. If the girl has physical handicaps, the Big Sister uses her "executive leadership," as Porter Lee calls it, in directing or taking her to such resources as the community offers, as for example to a medical clinic. The family agency which is giving financial relief to the home confers with the Big Sister regarding the family welfare. For the girl with no wholesome recreation, new relationships need to be developed, as well as an opportunity for group recognition and, if possible, some achievement in club activity. A camping experience may be secured for her, after which the camp counselor gives the Big Sister or the staff her report of the girl's sportsmanship and adaptation to camp life. Sometimes a wage or schoolwage home is secured with the assistance of the trained worker who makes the investigation. Here the girl is supervised and her adjustment studied. Where there has been conflict and rebellion against authority in home or school, an effort is made to bring about adjustment through the cooperation of other members of the family. The Big Sister with person-to-person leadership qualities aims to help the girl face reality through the development of insight, through careful guidance, suggestion, and example. The best results are obtained by the Big Sister before wrong habit patterns are made, before



the girl distrusts society and creates her own standards of conduct according to the group with which she has traveled.

There are many unseen dynamic spiritual forces which enable little sisters to make good, to solve problems in a socially acceptable way, and to make normal adjustments to life. The Big Sisters give friendship and companionship which fill basic needs in the girls' lives. Many lonely adolescents crave sincere friends. They find in the Big Sister a longed-for mother, a sister to take the place of the one or the other they do not possess. Every girl must have the consciousness that someone loves her. They are given an opportunity to acquire new ideas of normal living and to develop emotional stability. Time plays a part in this, for the Big Sister must often supervise unstable girls until they are capable of facing life quite adequately and courageously, which sometimes means until they are grown up. Wholesome sex instruction is given when needed and higher ideals of marriage inculcated. Those who have had no religious training or have had it and not used it are encouraged to make religion an active force in their lives. Many Big Sisters are to be especially commended for their appreciation and use of religion as a dominant factor in developing and changing attitudes in adolescent girls. Here the example of the older person is often more convincing than her words.

Over a period of fifteen years, concrete results of the Rochester Big Sister Council's work are manifest in the lives of hundreds of normal, happy young women. Many have remained in school from two to three years longer than would otherwise have been possible. Others have helped to educate younger members of their families. Still others have been assisted to realize their ambitions in business and professional schools. Some are nurses, a few teachers, and large numbers are married and good mothers. Many from foreign homes have established Americanized homes of their own. These young married women often consult their former Big Sisters whose opinions and judgment they have learned to value. A group who suffered seriously from feelings of inferiority, which would have prevented normal social intercourse, are today well adjusted, while some, who were wayward and in conflict with the law, are now stable, respectable young women.

Of course, there have been failures. There is no sure panacea for the ills which afflict the lives of many of our young people in this complex, highly competitive civilization. The girl is sometimes referred too late to change her firmly established habit patterns. She is then usually suspicious of offers of assistance and resentful of interference with her mode of living. Sometimes the Big Sister fails to live up to her obligations, makes too few contacts and so fails to secure the confidence of the girl—the first step in effective treatment. Sometimes, a Big Sister cannot be found who would be suited to handle a certain type of case or is discovered so late that the psychological moment for her introduction to the little sister is lost, and sometimes the fundamental pivotal need of the girl cannot be met. For example:

*Case VI.* Jessie wanted to work in a five-and-ten-cent store. She had not finished junior high school, but was such a bad influence in the classroom that she was given a home-work permit as early as possible. In the midst of the economic depression, there were few opportunities for work in a five-and-ten-cent store and none for a girl like Jessie. What the Big Sister could offer in the place of that coveted job, she would not accept. One day she eloped with a man of different race and creed to whom her parents were opposed. Later, she visited the office and brought her baby. In answer to the question why she did not cooperate with her Big Sister, she replied, "When she couldn't deliver the job I wanted, she couldn't get to first base with me."

In spite of unsuccessful cases like this one, experience has proved that when Big Sisters are resourceful and persistent their work, sooner or later, shows results.

In an organization where a maximum use is made of case-work technique and where there are a minimum of professional workers, both time and staff are lacking to evaluate results numerically in terms of success or failure. Each case is reviewed before closing by the Big Sister and the social worker. The social worker is thus given an opportunity to review her own work as an investigator, the quality of her assistance to the Big Sister and of the Big Sister's to the girl, and the effectiveness of the treatment. When they together recall the picture the girl presented when first taken in hand and contrast it with her later status, the Big Sister is heartened and enthusiastic for further service. Many Big Sisters are surprised at the continuity of their efforts, and the evidence of

growth and development in their little sisters and in themselves. On the other hand, if the efforts of the Big Sister have not been successful, this is faced honestly, and the Big Sister is often encouraged to try again.

Each year, a careful study is made of the reasons for the referral of the girls in order to discover the changing economic and social trends in the community. In the year 1934 it was found that unemployment with its attendant problems took first place as a cause of referral. This, of course, is due to the dire effects of the economic crisis on the lives of girls and young women. The figures further indicate that there is a decrease in the number of girls who have been referred for waywardness or potential delinquency: in 1930, 42 per cent; in 1931, 33 per cent; in 1932, 12 per cent; in 1933, 18 per cent; and in 1934, 18 per cent. Some of the reasons for this are: Families have been closer knit during these years of unemployment and unhappiness; there has been a lack of funds for commercialized recreation with its possible temptations; in Rochester better work is being done by children's agencies such as the group and character-building agencies, the S.P.C.C., Children's Court, and the visiting teachers.

The number of girls, who, after Big-Sister service failed, had to be referred to the Juvenile Court, has definitely decreased, as is shown by the following percentages: in 1929, .03; in 1930, .02; in 1931, .024; in 1932, .011; in 1933, .0066; in 1934, .017.

A further study of referrals shows that the number of girls above the Juvenile Court age have been rapidly increasing. Between the years 1931-1935, 28 per cent of the referrals were between the ages of ten and sixteen; 72 per cent were over sixteen years of age. These older girls have been particularly hard hit by the depression, since they have been unable to secure employment. Their problems are multiplied, because they are economically and socially insecure. Temptations to a lowering of morale and of social standards have increased. Many of the girls are found to be in need of a Big Sister or of a minor service which can be rendered by a member of the staff. For example:

*Case VII.* Jane was a girl who needed a Big Sister and case-work treatment, but she did not realize it. She was referred for assistance in obtaining employment and because of her low morale. She was nineteen, attractive, and considered herself capable of handling her own affairs. She was a high-school graduate but compelled to accept

housework because she could get no other work to do. She proved unsatisfactory because of a suspicion that she had not been honest, but not until she had been placed in a second home was it discovered that she had been actually guilty of theft. Here, she stole money and was with difficulty made to admit her guilt. A careful study was made to find out why Jane stole. Then she was shown that it was to compensate her for the lack of affection in her life. A Big Sister gave her some of the affection she craved and helped her develop a different attitude toward property.

Other older girls come with problems which can be handled in a short time by members of the staff. For instance:

*Case VIII.* Ellen, aged twenty and homeless, was such a case. She was referred for immediate employment by the superintendent of an institution from which she was released at the end of a probationary period. She was recommended as being unusually capable in handling children, so was placed in a home as a nursery maid, with high wages. In five weeks she was back in the Big Sister Council office, considered by her disappointed employer an utter failure. The staff worker realized that there were extenuating circumstances, and encouraged the girl to accept a position in a home where she was to have the entire care of two preschool children whose mother was in the mountains for her health. Ellen no longer needed the assistance of the staff worker. So well did she discharge her duties, so unusually efficient was she, that after a year's employment, she was recommended to a large children's hospital by her employer, and is this year to be graduated an honor student.

In this way the Rochester Big Sister Council has during the past five years met the changing needs of the community in adapting its program to the older as well as to the younger girl. This has necessitated finding employment for those in urgent need of it. For the past two years over 200 jobs annually have been secured for little sisters and young women.

A survey of several hundred cases, closed over a period of at least five years, should be made in order to ascertain as far as possible the influence of Big-Sister work. Yet, will figures alone reveal just what has been accomplished through a relationship permeated by the unconscious as well as the conscious influence of a woman who has left the impress of her personality upon a growing girl? Seeds sown today may lie dormant for years: then suddenly spring into life in some unexpected way and place.

"Spiritual things are spiritually discerned" and are not metered. Neither do they show up in a survey. However, a survey is necessary, and an evaluation of work and methods must be continuous in an organization of this kind. An ever-changing economic and social order affecting the youth of the community demands it.

This chapter opened with a comparison between juvenile delinquency and tuberculosis, that mortal enemy of youth. The biggest single factor of success in the public-health program to check and prevent tuberculosis is education, which stimulates, promotes, and demonstrates health projects and healthy living. In order to wage a similar war against delinquency and crime, a vigorous, constructive program is needed that will enlist the active interest and wholehearted cooperation of not only character-building and children's organizations, but all social agencies, the schools, the churches, mental-hygiene societies, the medical profession, and the police. The public must be conscious of causes—economic, social, physical, environmental—underlying maladjustment and antisocial behavior. Nationwide programs must be developed to discover and combat causes, to promote preventive measures, and to teach the most effective methods of rehabilitating the delinquent before he develops into the criminal. If this is done, delinquency and crime may become less startling reflections of an inadequate economic and social order for youth.

## Chapter XXI

### PARENT SCHOOL OF THE DOMESTIC RELATIONS COURT OF FRANKLIN COUNTY, COLUMBUS, OHIO

ERWIN V. MAHAFFEY\*

*Judge*

and

MABEL L. RIEBEL†

*Referee*

There is, no doubt, a universal recognition of the ignorance of parents on the problems of child training. In "Facts about Juvenile Delinquency, Its Prevention and Treatment,"<sup>1</sup> the Children's Bureau says: "Another important factor is failure of parents to understand the child and parental ignorance of methods of child training and character development."

In the autumn of 1930, the Domestic Relations Court of Franklin County, Columbus, Ohio, was stirred to do something about this, because, in attempting to carry out constructive

\* B.L., LL.B., Ohio State University. Until his recent death Mr. Mahaffey was judge of the Court of Common Pleas (Division of Domestic Relations) Franklin County, Columbus, Ohio. Formerly public-school teacher, lawyer, and Judge of the Municipal Court of the City of Columbus. Judge Mahaffey's court (which also has charge of juvenile-delinquency cases) originated the idea of a parental-education program for parents of delinquents and summer-camp outings for wards of the court (see Chapter XVII). Mr. Mahaffey was the first judge of this Court to sit on domestic relations and juvenile cases.—EDITORS' NOTE.

† Until her recent death, Mrs. Riebel was chief probation officer and referee of the Juvenile Court (Court of Common Pleas) of Franklin County, Columbus, Ohio, having been appointed by Judge Mahaffey in 1929. Previously, she had been a well-known attorney and social worker. Attended Ohio State University; LL. M., Columbus College of Law. Formerly member, board of trustees, Franklin County Children's Home (for two years, superintendent).—EDITORS' NOTE.

<sup>1</sup> United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Bulletin No. 215, 1933.

treatment the Court found itself greatly handicapped by the parents' lack of understanding of the Court's objectives. So the Court began to evolve plans to attack this key problem—of the education of parents of delinquents on probation.

It had no knowledge of methods for educating these adults, many of whom were themselves problem cases. An appeal was made to the Parent Education Department of Ohio State University for assistance. The chairman of the Department<sup>2</sup> lent hearty cooperation with the result that the education of parents of delinquents became a definite court project. Since no precedent for this work could be discovered, it has necessarily been experimental in its growth.

The first step was in the nature of exploration. Conferences with individuals and community groups were held to mark their reaction to the proposed plan, for we recognized that the community's assistance would be needed in the form of volunteer leaders to work with the parents. The superintendent of the local schools was requested to submit to the Court names of socially minded teachers who had the additional qualification of experience in successful teaching, homemaking, and parenthood. The parent-teacher organization was asked to recommend experienced group leaders. Ministers of churches were consulted for names of leaders of men's groups. From these submitted lists of names, the first leaders were selected. During the four years in which the Parent School has been in existence, the following persons have rendered invaluable services as volunteer leaders: a minister, two probation officers (one colored), three women experienced in parent-teacher study work, a university research specialist in education, a principal of a school in an underprivileged district, a professor of sociology. And many others have assisted with the routine work.

In September, 1931, a training course for leaders was inaugurated and was carried on for a period of five months, the group meeting weekly at the courthouse. A library for the use of leaders was made possible through the generosity of a friend of the Court. Selected educational matter was thus made available for the leaders and was read and discussed at their weekly meetings. A study of selected case histories of problem children was presented to the leaders' group to demonstrate the need of

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Jessie Charters.

parental education. Lectures and discussion meetings with leaders were held on such subjects as the psychology of the adolescent, types and seriousness of delinquency, state laws in relation to minors, methods used in juvenile procedure, community resources available to parents for the rehabilitation of minors (community centers, churches, cultural resources of the community, health and mental-hygiene agencies, etc.).

The Department of Education of Ohio State University<sup>3</sup> assisted leaders in simplifying the subject matter to be presented to the parents. Later, the actual teaching of the leaders was observed in the classroom and they were offered helpful suggestions.

The leaders were given an opportunity to understand relieving through a representative from the public agency functioning in that capacity. The attendance department of the public schools explained to the leaders the laws relating to school attendance and the requisites for the granting of work certificates.

Quite early in the training of leaders, it was definitely determined that they must be subsidiary to the Court. One of the most important phases of their training was to impress upon them that although their attitude toward parents must be one of friendship, they were not to assume the function of officers of the Court and that all matters requiring the solution of individual problems of parents must be referred to the probation officers.

No public financial aid was available for the Parent School but through newspaper publicity, individuals, women's organizations, the parent-teacher association, the women's aid societies, money was donated to pay the cost of printing pamphlets, which were to be supplied to parents, and also for the carfare for those who lived beyond walking distance of the meeting place. The courthouse was selected as the proper place to hold the classes because it was felt that this would impress the parents with the fact that the Court was really sponsoring the school. And heat and light and other facilities were available without additional cost. Naturally the number of parent students was in a manner controlled by the space available.

When preliminary preparation of the leaders seemed to be accomplished, the School was opened.<sup>4</sup> Of necessity the sessions

<sup>3</sup> Represented by Dr. Edgar Dale.

<sup>4</sup> March 7, 1932.



had to be in the evening, and the parents in the first session met weekly for seven consecutive weeks. The experiment of the "short course" was tried and proved to be the most feasible, and this has been continued since.

Parents are invited to each meeting by a formal letter signed by the Judge. The following is a typical letter sent to each home on the Court's stationery:

Parents of children on probation to the Court of Domestic Relations of Franklin County, Columbus, Ohio, are expected to attend the Parents' meeting conducted by the Court as one of the conditions of the child's probation. A meeting for the parents will be held at the Court House Annex, \_\_\_\_\_ evening, \_\_\_\_\_ 19\_\_ at 8 o'clock.

You are requested to be present.

A similar notice is sent out as a reminder two or three days before each meeting. Carfare one way is included with the invitation, if necessitated by the parents' financial status. Return fare is also given at the close of the meeting, if necessary.

Before these invitations were sent, probation officers had personally talked to parents of the proposed plan for a Parents' School to stimulate their interest and observe their reactions so that a basis might be established for the selection of the potential students. Those selected did not include the feeble-minded, the definitely neurotic, or those antagonistic to the Court. The parents in these classifications can be helped, if at all, only by individual case work. It was found upon trial that their presence was disrupting to group work.

The school was divided into sections, consisting of groups not exceeding fifteen persons. The purpose of this plan was to keep the classes small enough to encourage group discussion. Parents were not classified according to the delinquency of the children, since the Court charge against the child represents only one of many home problems. Two groups of men were formed, one white and one colored, composed of fathers whom the probation officers knew to be the "key persons" in the family situation. Recently one class was composed of fathers whose delinquent sons ranged in age from sixteen to eighteen years. The boys had committed felonies, and the plan was to give special assistance to the fathers in handling these youngsters.

The first meeting of a group is attended by the Judge personally, who stresses the importance of regular attendance and

assures the parents of the Court's interest in their children, pointing out that the Parent School is a part of the Court's plan to guide the children to normal citizenship.

The leaders employ a varied technique in instructing the parents. Lectures, posters, charts, blackboards, pictures, printed pamphlets, and publications of various mental health and hygiene agencies (state and national) are some of the instruments used in presenting the subject which is being taught to the parent students. Pads and pencils are furnished them. The leader prepares the topic carefully so as to appeal to the particular group. Round-table discussions are encouraged by the leaders, and the parents are requested to express personal opinions, comments, and criticisms. The chairman of the Department of Parent Education of Ohio State University<sup>5</sup> who has been cooperating with the Court in this project says:

In every way parents are regarded as adults, as persons of maturity, experience, and dignity. Problems of discipline of students or of impertinence never arise. On the other hand, parents are timid, anxious, fearful, suspicious, and self-justifying. "Defense mechanisms" are much in evidence and leaders must learn continually about human psychology in order to be helpful.

The curriculum consists of topics selected out of the Court's experience with parents. Specific mention is rarely made of juvenile delinquency or of the particular offenses for which the children are brought into Court. Fundamental matters of child behavior and of family life are stressed. When the school was first started leaders were not permitted to read the case histories of the children whose parents were in the classes. The reason for this was that many of the parents were the direct cause of the children's difficulties. It was feared that the leaders would not be able to treat the parents objectively and that personal convictions might enter too much into their teaching. However, later, when the group of leaders had so far progressed that the aforesaid condition did not exist, all case histories were studied by the leaders and they were permitted to make their own selections of the subject matter to be taught from the following lists:

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Jessie Charters.

1. Some Suggestions to Parents for Improving the Health of Their Children
2. Unemployment and the Family
3. The Value of an Education
4. Fathers and Sons—Mothers and Daughters
5. Why Children Quarrel and What Parents Should Do
6. Moral Training of Children
7. Religion in the Home. Suggestions for Teaching Children about God
8. Teaching Children Respect for Property
9. Problems of Discipline (a three-lesson pamphlet)
10. The Child's Own Home
11. Our Children's Clothes
12. Teaching the Children the Right Use of Money
13. Having Fun in the Family
14. Taming Our Children. A Lesson in Obedience
15. Sex Education of Children

All parents come together for the lecture on the Sex Education of Children.

The subjects mentioned above are in pamphlet form. They were prepared by the chairman of the Department of Parental Education of Ohio State University<sup>6</sup> and consist of two or three mimeographed pages written in as simple language as possible and illustrated in an interesting form. This material is distributed at the conclusion of the instruction. Many of the parents call the pamphlets a "book," which is complete at the end of the course. They appear to be quite appreciative. The slogan at all these meetings is "Preparing for Successful Citizenship" and the leaders are urged to stress this continuously.

One hour is the length of time for a class period. However, when interest runs high, the students may request an extension of time, which of course is always granted. The attendance of parents is checked by the leaders. Probation officers of the Court stimulate laggards to regular attendance by home visitations and telephone calls. Since the Court School opened, the attendance has been as follows: in 1932, 346 parents; in 1933, 332; in 1934, 347; in 1935, 316; making a grand total of 1,341.

At the close of each meeting of the classes the leaders assemble and prepare the lesson for the following week. The topics are

<sup>6</sup> Dr. Jessie Charters.

always decided upon before the course begins, but special problems which need to be taken up, the specific objectives to be sought under each topic, and similar matters are canvassed at the leaders' meeting. The parents are similarly prepared ahead of time for each topic. They have the schedule of dates and topics handed out or sent to them at the beginning. Also the home visitors discuss the lessons as they make their calls. The teacher always creates anticipatory interest for the next meeting by some sort of assignment or suggestion at the end of each evening.

The question of *discipline* of their children is always of anxious interest to the student parents, and the source of many home difficulties. Therefore this subject is taken up sometime during each short course. One of the leaflets prepared for these classes is entitled, "Taming Our Children. A Lesson in Obedience." The leaflet is usually not handed out until well along in the class hour, unless the leader wishes the group to follow its contents specifically, as the attention may be distracted from the leader's presentation. The leaflet is intended as home reading to reinforce and supplement the teacher's more personal and informal discussion.

A description of a class in session will best indicate just what the procedure is and how the study materials have been modified to meet the needs of parents of the children on probation.

The group sit, fifteen of them, facing the Judge's bench with its walnut carvings mellowed by age, where for many years juvenile judges have heard and pondered the problems of adolescent boys and girls in a valiant attempt to settle in a few minutes questions involving generations of multiple and interrelated factors of delinquency. A number of the parents are poorly clothed, but all are clean and neat. One mother, decked out with a fresh finger wave and lipstick boasts, "I'm a social worker too. I work for the P.T.A." She winks at the woman next to her, "But they don't know that Irene is in court."

A father with one eye recently blinded explains to several interested listeners how the tragedy happened. While near enough to the teacher to attract her attention a mother berates the government because her husband has no employment and they are receiving "starvation relief orders." Others sit quietly or converse with their neighbors in low tones waiting for the evening lesson to begin.

A student volunteer, checking the attendance role, whispers to the leader, "They look just like any group of parents at a P.T.A. meeting."

The door opens and a woman enters, coat and shoes wet, wiping her face with the end of her scarf.

"I'm late, I know, but I had to come because my girl won't mind and I thought I might find out what to do. I didn't have any umbrella," she adds, brushing off her wet coat with her scarf.

When the hands of the clock point to 7:35 most of the mothers and fathers are in their seats. The leader rises as a sign that the evening lesson is about to begin.

"Tonight we are eager to discuss our topic, 'Better Ways of Training Our Children.' When babies are born they do not seem to be much more than little animals, do they? Just little, helpless animals. Can you remember how your first baby looked? What did it do? It ate, and slept, and squirmed, and cried. But pretty soon it began to learn things. Can you remember?"

The leader gains the interest and concentrated attention of the group, first, by talking about something with which they are all familiar and in which they probably take a keen personal delight. And second, she couches some of her remarks in the form of rhetorical questions which they could easily and spontaneously answer if she had stopped to allow them to. They are listening, murmuring in sympathy, pleased, following all she says.

"Little by little," the leader continues, "a baby must be trained out of many of his natural acts to be less animal and more human. The danger is that parents will use wrong ways of domesticating this little human animal. Fathers and mothers know how important it is to teach their child to be civilized and to behave in a way that will not make trouble for him and other people. But while parents know the importance of training children they very seldom know good ways of doing it and the dangers that are involved when they use wrong ways with this little human being.

"Tonight we are going to study about ways of training children. We are going to discuss some of the bad ways we fall into, and how we may do better. And especially will we try to understand a

little more of the nature of our children, because only if we understand our children can we manage them, as we have said so often before."

The leader then proceeds to develop two or three topics which she knows would fit some of the needs of this particular group, all the while repeating in simple, homely language some of the great fundamental facts of child psychology and some of the principles of child management. She brings out the fact that boys and girls begin to grow up and want some independence when they are thirteen or fourteen. If parents are not wise and understanding they may try to treat their adolescent children as if they were still babies. They even thrash them, order them to do or not to do things, and do not try to reason with them. Conflicts arising because of the natural rebelliousness of youth may lead to their breaking away from home.

It is also shown that the restraints of a city and even of normal civilized life are hard for certain types of children. All the points are illustrated by simple incidents which might happen in any home and which the parents can therefore match in their own lives. Then the leader begins to prepare the ground for a discussion.

"We have been talking the last twenty minutes about these points: Our children are born untrained, almost like animals. We have to train them and bring them up to be good, honest, fine human beings, citizens in our country. There are good ways of doing this job, and some ways that are not so good. Especially when children are getting to be fourteen, fifteen, sixteen years old they seem to resent our ideas for them and to behave in ways which we cannot approve. This is natural. They are growing up. But still, some of them go too far. They get into trouble. They get into serious trouble, and we are afraid they will not grow up to be the kind of men and women we want them to be. Many of you have come here tonight hoping to hear something to solve your own problems.

"Mrs. Smith," says the leader to the woman who had come in late, "your courage this rainy night deserves reward, so we'll let you begin, as you seem so deeply interested. Then others of you may ask your questions as we planned at the last meeting. For open discussion of our problems is sometimes helpful, if we are careful to try to get real help when we bring them up for discussion."

"Well," begins Mrs. Smith, "my girl, Marie, wants to go out nights to dances and not come in till two o'clock. Then she is too sleepy to get up in time for school. She isn't doing much with her lessons, either. I've scolded and threatened and whipped her, but it don't do much good."

Mr. Jones speaks up. "I don't know, teacher, whether lickin' a kid helps any. I've wore out several straps, but it just seems to make Bill stubborn, and I swear so when I get mad I'm ashamed of myself. I guess I've learned tonight what is the matter. I hadn't ought to of licked the kid, for lots of the time he was just growing up, I guess. And I guess I do treat him like a baby sometimes, ordering him around."

Here the leader turns to Mrs. Smith. "We must be awake to the dangers that lie in wait for a girl when she is going out to dances alone, or with boys we do not know and approve thoroughly. But girls love to dance, and nature makes them want a good time. We, their parents, cannot go against nature. We have to think up ways to help them to have a good safe time at home. Or maybe go with them. Or plan some other way to protect them. At the same time, girls must be helped to see that they cannot dance till two o'clock on school nights and do good school work the next day. Soon we are going to have a lesson on the importance of an education for success in life, and I'm sure that lesson will help all of you to know what to do to encourage your children to go to school."

Here a big, good-natured father speaks up. "You know my boy, Jay. Well he got into trouble with a gang of boys at night. He always wants to go fishing at night—he says the fish bite better then. He asked me to go with him—he always does, but I'm not crazy to be et up by mosquitoes. Well, he went fishin' once too often and now his gang is in court."

"Wouldn't it be great fun for you to help your boy and his gang to form a fishing club?" asks the leader. "I can give you a bottle of citronella to keep the mosquitoes off, and I think you might like to fish if you got started. Maybe you can have a bonfire to smoke off the mosquitoes, and mother might fix you all a midnight lunch. Boys and fathers can be chums instead of enemies. And it saves the boy, whom I know you love better than life."

Another father interrupts to call out, "I'd rather let the mosquitoes eat me than have my boy sent away to prison."

The leader hastily changes the subject. Fear of the law and for the future of their erring children is very near the surface, and effort is made to make these evening meetings constructive and positive and to give hope in the place of fear and despair. "There are lessons in patience and understanding and comradeship that parents and courts must learn while the boys and girls find their places in the great thing we call life. Let us not use too much force with them, nor criticize too harshly their behavior. We must not try to drive them or make ourselves their masters when they are old enough to expect us to be friends."

"I had to learn from the Court," one father says, "that the reason my boy was truant from school was because I wanted him to be a scholar in Latin and geometry, when he seems to be cut out for a mechanic. I am disappointed, and maybe even now I don't understand him, or maybe I can't get over my disappointment. I did so want him to have a better chance in life than I've had."

Here the teacher remarked: "Natural-born mechanics, when they get good training, may find honorable places for themselves in a community. A man who is trying to live the life of a scholar, or to be a professional man when he is not born for that sort of thing, is unhappy and makes a very poor scholar. I see an aunt here tonight whose niece thought all happiness centered in a public dance hall. She seemed cut out to be a social butterfly. Will you tell us how you managed to keep her happy in her social life without the dance hall?"

"Well, when she was brought into court I gave up, but while she was on probation she was sent to a settlement-house summer camp. I didn't know she had it in her, but she found she had a talent for making little children happy. Now she spends her time after school hours with her little club at the social settlement house, and she wants to be a teacher of little children. She has forgotten all about the dance-hall crowd."

"This aunt has found out one great secret of managing our children. Help them to discover good ways of having fun. Never forbid them anything that they dearly love without trying to find something to take its place which is just as interesting and important in their eyes. That isn't always easy, but it is so



necessary that we should work hard at that problem. Sometimes the court can help you by making suggestions about recreation centers, school clubs, and so on."

The leader looks at the clock on the wall. "Sorry but the hour is up. Here are the leaflets on this topic, 'Training Our Children.' You will find them helpful, not only for your child on probation but also in training the little ones. The other five classes meeting here tonight will take home the same leaflets. Please tell me next week what you think of them.

"Now that the leaflets has been passed I am going to pass pencils and paper. May I ask you to write what you think will be helpful to you in tonight's lesson, if you have any remark to make, or a question, if you care to do so. You need not sign your name. Hand the slip of paper to me before you leave.

"Also, a good friend has given us carfare, so that anyone needing a ticket may get it here at the table.

"Next week our lesson topic will be 'Citizenship.' Some of you parents are afraid your boys and girls are losing respect for the laws of the land, and are bragging about what kind of a government they would like to make by breaking down the one we have. Next week you will be given ways and means to meet their arguments and suggestions for making good citizens of your own family. You will receive the usual announcements by mail."

Mr. B., who had listened attentively during the hour but had said nothing whispered as he passed the leader, "Don't you still think that a sound thrashing once in awhile does a boy good?" and leaves hurriedly before she can gather herself together to answer both his question and the twinkle in his eye. As she leaves the building she hears the student volunteer laughingly remark, "We must be sure to turn off the lights, or the county commissioners won't think so well of the Court's parent education."

No auditing system has been established as yet to determine the practical effects of the Parent School in reducing the delinquency of the children; nor could it be at this time, because the whole project is in the experimental stage, with no established precedents. Plans of procedure and subject matter of the class discussions are still being revised.

That the use of an auditing system is indicated goes without saying, and yet much of the benefit received by the parents is so intangible that this part of the program presents many difficulties. Not all the parents approve of the Court School as evidenced by the fact that one stepmother refused to attend the second time because she said, "I know all about boys—my stepson's stealing is just the natural manners of a boy." One father said he worked too hard days to study nights about things his boy knew well enough to do, if he would. Another father remarked, "All young people are doing the same things . . . living in bad times . . . no use to waste my time . . . would not correct boy."

Such expressions are in the minority however. One mother remarked, "I try everything I learn on Monday night all the rest of the week. My husband and I read the pamphlets aloud evenings." A father expressed himself as being appreciative of learning better methods of giving sex instruction to his son. Another parent expressed himself as being pleased over the fact that he might talk over mutual child problems with other parents. A mother said that she attended because she wanted to cooperate with the Court and wanted her delinquent daughter to understand that she, the mother, had the support of the Court.

A few cases might illustrate the results of instruction given in the Court to the parents:

*Case I.* Boy, thirteen, charged with newspaper stealing. Father unsympathetic toward son, used corporal punishment when Sunday earnings were under maximum stipulated amount. The boy stole papers to meet father's demand and was finally brought into the Court as a delinquent. The father attended every parental educational meeting over a period of two years. His attitude underwent a complete change. He became adjusted toward the boy and his earnings; he permitted his son to check on his accounts, to make his own collections, and gave him a weekly stipend for spending money. Later on the father sought advice of the probation officers in adjusting the attitude of the wife, who was antagonistic toward the husband. The officers of the Court assisted the family in budgeting household expenses at their request. The boy became one of the outstanding successes as a newspaper salesman for a local newspaper employing him. At Thanksgiving time he drew a prize of a turkey for his dependability and achievements.

*Case II.* A colored mother, with two children on probation, was so impressed with the help she received in advice on control of her children

that she called the Court to ask for a loan of the printed lesson series that she might organize the mothers in her neighborhood to hear the lessons read. She informed the probation officer that her own "book" was all "worn out."

*Case III.* During the school year, on a bitterly cold morning, one of the leaders observed one of the fathers of her class, thinly clad, pacing up and down in front of her home. After a while he seemed to muster up courage to ring the bell for admittance. The leader knew that the man was on relief. She invited him in and offered to furnish him a warm breakfast. This he refused. He said, "No, I just came up here this morning to tell you how much I appreciate what the Court is doing for me in the school. My wife and I sat up last night late and we talked of many things. We realize that we are to blame greatly for the fact that one of our sons is in a penal institution, another is in the reformatory, and one now in the Court, charged with delinquency. If only somebody had helped us as you are! All we ever knew what to do, when our children did wrong, was to beat them. I told my wife this morning that I could not rest until I told you that every mother and father should know the things that you are teaching me."

It may be added that their son made good on probation and has not come into the Court charged with any crime since that time.

The Court School will soon be five years old, and at the end of that period the plan is to have a survey made of the results. The School of Social Service Administration at Ohio State University will be requested to assign a graduate student to assist the Court in this project. Many interesting facts should be disclosed by this study, but the Court will be particularly interested to know if family relationships were improved by the Court School; if the probationer, whose parents attended the sessions is a recidivist; and if the younger children in the family were benefited by the parents' training.

The plans for conducting the School will be changed from time to time as our experience indicates, and certain fundamental principles that will assist the parents in guiding their delinquent sons and daughters will gradually be evolved.

There is no doubt in the minds of those who have had the pleasure of promulgating this project that it has been effective in many cases. The favorable reaction of the community, together with the changed attitude of the majority of parents to the Court and their eager application of this newly acquired knowledge to their children's problems are some of the most

heartening results. The unsolicited approval of the newspapers has inspired courage in those sponsoring the plan. Quite recently the Board of Education, Department of Attendance, has appealed to the Court for the admission of parents of school truants to these class groups.

The executive psychologist of the State Bureau of Juvenile Research,<sup>7</sup> recently placed his stamp of approval upon the School for Parents in the following manner:

We believe that the program of parental education for the parents of children on probation to the Franklin County Court of Domestic Relations is one of the most effective and progressive steps which has been taken in the Juvenile Court field.

All of us who work with children who are maladjusted realize the importance of the environment of the home. In almost every case referred to this institution the factor of the failure of the home appears in more or less prominent fashion. When such children are brought to the attention of officials it is very natural for the parents to come to their rescue and many unintelligent things are said and done by parents placed in such a situation. This has often led to the belief that these parents are uncooperative and unwilling to assume a wholesome attitude toward the problems of the child. All of us who have dealt intimately with these parents, however, know that this is not true, for they are, in the majority of cases, very anxious that something be done to help with their children.

The courses in parental education given at the Court have dispelled the uncooperative attitude of these parents, a result which alone justifies the time and effort which have been spent in carrying on the program.

In addition, the positive suggestions these parents receive regarding the management of their children, have been of great value in the management, not only of the child on probation, but of the other children in the family. Thus, the procedure has become a vital preventive factor. We sincerely hope that every Court which deals with children who are maladjusted will actively promote a similar program. Statistics from our own cases indicate that close to 75% of the children whom we see have parents who are problems themselves.

We wish to express our appreciation of this pioneering effort.

<sup>7</sup> Dr. C. H. Calhoun.



**PART VI**  
**BOYS' CLUBS AND RECREATION PROGRAMS**



## Chapter XXII

### THE ALL NATIONS BOYS' CLUB, LOS ANGELES

CHARLES SHELDON THOMPSON\*

#### *Managing Director*

This chapter is concerned with an account of the achievement of the All Nations Boys' Club of Los Angeles, California, in the development of methods and techniques for leisure-time activities among underprivileged boys. The plan is unique in that it organically relates group work and case work, two social techniques, combining their resources to achieve a common objective. A club program of recreation and character building is thereby individualized and based on detailed knowledge of the differing capacities, interests and needs of each child, who receives the correlated services of a group of specialists, regardless of whether or not he presents any special problem. The need for such a service in Los Angeles is patent.

Crime waves are made of criminals and criminals are made of boys. Official records prove that criminals are not made over night, but evolve from juvenile delinquents. As a great penologist has said: "The rollicking, mischievous boy of today, uncontrolled and out of hand, becomes the hardened offender of tomorrow. When we learn to look forward with the child instead of backward with the adult criminal, we will have made great strides in the prevention of crime." The Boys' Club is located in the midst of the raw material that is feeding our reformatories and penitentiaries, reaching the underprivileged boys from whose number come more than 90 % of all the juvenile court cases. It provides a safety valve for the superabundant energy of the boy and

\* Familiarly known as "Tommy" to hundreds of boys. A.B. and diploma in social work, University of Southern California. Formerly director of boys' work, Los Angeles City Parish (comprising six Methodist institutions). Registered social worker, state of California. Member, American Association of Social Workers, Phi Kappa Phi, and Alpha Kappa Delta (president of latter, 1933-1934). Member, National Camp Directors' Association, Pacific Camp Directors' Association, California Conference of Social Work. Special lecturer in social work, University of Southern California.—EDITORS' NOTE.



directs it into wholesome rather than into anti-social channels. The so-called bad boy is most often a good boy doing the wrong thing.<sup>1</sup>

Main Street, in the downtown section of the city, is the center for cheap all-night movies and burlesque shows, secondhand stores and auction joints, quacks, fly-by-night enterprises of all descriptions and no character, and the hangout of transients and bums. Between Main Street and the Los Angeles River, some three miles to the east, lies a district where disease, poverty, crime, overcrowding and unemployment abound, and where also appear, in their acute forms, industrial, social, and international issues. This is a semiindustrial area, filled with hundreds of small industrial plants, cheap rooming houses, hotels and apartment houses, and many one-family homes of former residential days, now remodeled to house several families. Poverty, disease, vice, and crime stalk the streets and alleys. Overcrowding, with its resulting social evils, is the rule.

This area had once been a choice residential locality of homes, with schools and churches ministering to the English-speaking citizens. Slowly the population changed. Industry began to invade this section, and with it came a succession of foreign-born peoples, seeking homes near the place of their employment, and a group of native Whites desiring anonymity. The Christian forces felt that their churches could no longer be maintained on the same basis, and some church groups sought new residential sections in which to serve. In the stress of the changing conditions the Reverend G. Bromley Oxnam<sup>2</sup> was appointed pastor of the Church of All Nations, a Methodist church in the area. He felt that these foreign groups needed a friend, needed socializing help to enable them to become intelligent American citizens, so he endeavored to adapt his ministry to their need—physical, social, and religious. This made necessary a change from the formal denominational program to one that would include in its ministry people of every race, creed, and color. It was in two old apartment houses, with an inadequate playground on an adjoining lot that the Reverend G. Bromley Oxnam, with the aid of a staff both paid and volunteer, demonstrated the need for a community-wide service.

<sup>1</sup> "Boys' Clubs—A National Movement," p. 21, Boys' Clubs of America, Inc.

<sup>2</sup> President of DePauw University, Greencastle, Indiana, since 1928.

Prior to 1925, children of this area were forced to use the sidewalks, streets, alleys, and occasional vacant lots for their play activities. School playgrounds were guarded by high fences and padlocked gates after school hours, and the city playground department had failed to provide a playground or swimming pool for the children of this area. It was generally conceded that this was a high delinquency area, but just how high, in relation to other areas, was not revealed until 1925.

In that year the Los Angeles Rotary Club, alarmed by the incidence of juvenile "crime," authorized a comprehensive city-wide survey to discover the sources, character, and causes of juvenile delinquency in order that intelligent remedies might be applied to overcome the influences leading to vice and crime among children and youth in a great city. Dr. Emory S. Bogardus, head of the Department of Sociology at the University of Southern California, was engaged to direct a thorough survey of the situation. This survey, made at a cost of nearly \$10,000, was based on Police and Probation Department records of actual cases, personal interviews with individuals and members of gangs, visitations to hundreds of homes and hangouts. It included reports on the pool halls, dance halls, cheap shows, playgrounds, churches, schools, and other agencies of the area. The final report,<sup>3</sup> including maps, charts, and graphs, was completed in 1925. This report pointed a stern finger of statistical proof to the district described above, lying east of downtown Main Street, as the highest delinquency area in Los Angeles, sending more boys per capita of population to the Juvenile Court and correctional schools than any other district.

It was found that in this area resided the members of boys' gangs, organized for almost every antisocial activity from stealing milk bottles to blowing safes. Here were living the boys ten, twelve, fourteen years of age, who were literally marching toward the gates of San Quentin Prison. This community offered nothing but temptations to wrong choices. A great need, long sensed, was made evident by the thorough, factual research project.

The survey was completed at a time when two successful business men were devising plans for their philanthropies.<sup>4</sup> When appraised of the need emphasized by the published report,

<sup>3</sup> EMORY S. BOGARDUS, "The City Boy and His Problems."

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Royal Robert Bush and Mr. Charles Brown Voorhis.

they agreed to give a commodious and well-equipped Boys' Club to the boys of that district.

The Church of All Nations, later to become known as the All Nations Foundation, is a social-welfare project of the Los Angeles Missionary and Church Extension Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Located in the very heart of the highest delinquency area and already ministering, in so far as its limited resources permitted, to the recreational needs of boys of all creeds and races, it seemed to be the logical agency to take responsibility for the problem. Furthermore, funds had been raised and construction started on an adequately equipped community house and medical clinic.

So, to this organization came the gift of another unit—the All Nations Boys' Club. This unit is housed in a three-story brick building, containing a fully equipped gymnasium and showers, library, woodshop, club, craft, and game rooms, kitchen and banquet hall. Deliberately located in the highest delinquency area of a great city, the club was charged with the responsibility of "doing something about it."

On January 17, 1927, the All Nations Boys' Club opened its doors to neighborhood boys. The only requirement for membership was a small fee, ranging from fifty cents a year for younger boys to a dollar a year for older boys—the fee being payable in cash or *work*. Boys of thirty-two different nationalities and fifteen varieties of religions, and some unclassified—all ages, all sizes, all colors, all creeds—joined the Club. Most of the members have come voluntarily, having been told by other boys of the fun they can have at All Nations. Other boys have been encouraged to join the Boys' Club by public-school teachers, parents, and social workers. Still others have joined because of some pressure from probation officers or law-enforcement officers.

The organization and objectives are patterned after the leading Boys' Clubs of the United States, and a charter of membership is held in Boys' Clubs of America, Inc. Activities and programs are very similar to those found in any Boys' Club, but the distinguishing feature of the All Nations Boys' Club is found in its methods and techniques.

The Boys' Club director had received training not only in group-work technique, but also in the case-work approach to problems. Therefore, an emphasis on the individual approach

to group work has always dominated methods and techniques used at the All Nations Boys' Club. This emphasis has been immeasurably strengthened by the organization of a child-welfare clinic as a department of the All Nations Foundation in 1931. The fact that approximately four out of every five of the problems of individual boys discovered through the special activities of the Child Welfare Clinic were previously unknown to any of the Boys' Club staff is conclusive evidence of the value of the clinic service. With this addition of a staff of psychologists and social-case workers, these two social techniques, group work and case work, joined forces under the same roof to go forward in the field of social work.

A written agreement between the Boys' Club donors and the board of directors of the All Nations Foundation provides for an executive council, members of which are jointly appointed and approved. The advisory council, composed of representative business and professional men, includes the chief probation officer, the sheriff, and the Juvenile Court judge. Through the executive council, the Boys' Club staff is responsible to the Superintendent of All Nations Foundation.<sup>5</sup>

The club is staffed by a director, a boys' counselor, a supervisor of physical education, a supervisor of game rooms, a handicraft teacher, and a secretary. These are assisted by volunteers and students assigned from various colleges to do group work under supervision for academic credit or for small scholarships.

The Boys' Club operates on a minimum budget as a member of the Los Angeles Community Chest. Private gifts have come, both solicited and unsolicited, to provide for unbudgeted items. The Los Angeles Rotary Club equipped the woodshop and pays for the teacher of handicraft activities. The Los Angeles Civitan Club sponsored a group of 30 boys for several years. The Los Angeles Lions Club provides \$500 a year to special projects at the Boys' Club. The donor<sup>6</sup> has provided the club with two motor busses, and assists financially in many ways. The Los Angeles Kiwanis Club contributed \$500 this year toward a new, permanent mountain camp, now under construction as a W.P.A. project. The camp will be one of the finest in the mountains, and

<sup>5</sup> Robert Anderson McKibben, successor to Dr. G. Bromley Oxnam, August, 1927.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. R. R. Bush.

will provide year-round facilities for camping. It is being entirely financed by private gifts.

The Boys' Club is not only an active member of Boys' Clubs of America, Inc., but locally, it works in closest cooperation and harmony with other social agencies, both public and private. For example, the "Downtown" Coordinating Council\* meets regularly at the All Nations Foundation and the staff members hold offices and accept responsible committee work in the council. Any boy's case referred to the Coordinating Council and within the All Nations district is immediately handed over to the Boys' Club for treatment. The Los Angeles Police Department, Probation Department, and Juvenile Court always seek the help of the All Nations staff in handling any case having even the slightest connection with All Nations or within the possible range of influence of that agency.

The district public schools urge their boys to attend the All Nations Boys' Club, and quite often call on All Nations for help in handling problems. The club uses the school playgrounds for football and baseball leagues and track and field meets. The Eastside Union of Settlements and Boys' Work Agencies was organized by the All Nations Boys' Club for the purpose of facilitating cooperative activities between the club and other agencies. Through arrangements with the nearest branch of the Y.M.C.A., the All Nations Boys' Club has exclusive use of their swimming pool two nights each week. The Board of Education also assigns one night a week for the All Nations Boys in a high-school swimming pool, and two Chinese churches conduct activities for their boys at the All Nations Boys' Club every Saturday night.

The All Nations Child Welfare Clinic came to All Nations as the result of a contest to determine "What New Piece of Social Service Work is Most Needed in Los Angeles." Two hundred and forty-nine projects were submitted in competition for financial support by the donor who authorized the contest. This project, prepared by the superintendent of All Nations Founda-

\* The Coordinating Council of Los Angeles County is an organization which unites the various agencies, both public and private, of the community and centers their united interest and attention upon the unadjusted child, his problems and his environment. See Chapter II.—EDITORS' NOTE.

tion,<sup>7</sup> was selected as one of the two most deserving and thereby was awarded guaranteed financial support for a period of five years, ending July, 1936. The new unit is staffed by a director,<sup>8</sup> a case-work supervisor, a secretary, and eleven graduate fellowship students from the University of Southern California—seven in sociology, two in psychology, one in education, and one in religion. It functions under an administrative board, responsible through the superintendent of the All Nations Foundation to the board of directors.

The Boys' Club staff believes that the very heart of constructive educational group work is personal guidance. By personal guidance is meant that every member makes a unique claim for understanding, for expression, for attention, for recognition, for guidance. The organization at All Nations is centered around the small club unit. The Friendly Indian—Pioneer program was adopted as a basis, but methods, techniques, and materials from Scout, Woodcraft, Ranger, or any other source are used. Every boy member is placed in a club of fifteen to twenty members. The programs for these various clubs are not based on any standardized national program. They are not taken from any book of instructions. They are not planned for any mythical "average" boy. On the contrary, with a strong emphasis on the individual, a serious attempt is made to build programs on the basis of known needs.

In general, boys of the same chronological age are placed together. Exceptions are made where close friendships exist between boys of slightly different ages, or when a boy seems unable to become assimilated in the group of his age. Boys of different nationalities are generally placed in the same clubs with beneficial results. The two exceptions to this general rule have been with Japanese and Chinese boys. Our largest nationality group is Mexican, but we do not have any all-Mexican club. Our second largest racial group is Japanese, but we have only one all-Japanese club and that one has only fifteen members. Most of our Chinese clubs come representing groups already organized at Chinese churches and therefore generally remain all-Chinese.

Each club meets with its leader once a week. Club leaders are carefully selected and are mostly mature university students with

<sup>7</sup> Robert A. McKibben.

<sup>8</sup> Everett W. DuVall.

some group-work experience who have had courses in psychology, sociology, physical education, or kindred subjects to better fit them for doing *educational* group work. Also they must have adequate time to give to the boys in their club. The program for club meetings may include routine transaction of business, committee reports, the planning of trips, hikes, banquets, or other special events, engaging in group singing, discussion, debate, storytelling, games, or stunts. Either before or after the club meeting, the same group has a gym period of one hour. This activity of group games, relays, and team games is often handled by the club leader, but is always under the direct supervision of our full-time supervisor of physical education, known familiarly as the "coach."<sup>9</sup> In so far as possible, the club identity is kept for all activities; each club enters a team in the various district athletic leagues, but the members of each team must be members in good standing of the small club unit which the team represents. Therefore, the number of boys from which each team may draw its talent is limited to approximately fifteen. The best players from different clubs are selected to make an all-star team.

During the 1933 football season, a star player on one of the teams came to the club intoxicated. At the serious risk of losing the championship his club eliminated him from the team. The word went around among the boys that a "drunk" can't represent All Nations on any of its teams. Last season, again at the risk of losing a Southern California basketball championship, a star player was eliminated from the line-up because he could not be depended upon to represent creditably All Nations at the hotel, in the restaurants, and on the basketball court. He had become "cocky" and independent because of his skill and believed that the team could not get along without him. When he was informed that his teammates and the coach had voted to leave him at home he was greatly surprised and disappointed. The lesson served a real purpose. He profited by it and this year earned the right to go. He was a perfect gentleman, and incidentally he helped his team win the championship.

As a general practice, each small club unit goes on trips and hikes alone. Each has its banquets alone and goes to the movies

<sup>9</sup> Warren S. Slater.

as a unit. The result is a more comprehensive personal knowledge by the leader of the interests, needs, and problems of his boys. On the other hand, special interest groups are provided for boys from all the clubs who may be interested in a particular activity such as music, art, dramatics, and handicraft. A membership card entitles a boy to free swimming, towels, soap, showers, use of gymnasium, woodshop, library, game rooms, and other facilities. Free passes are provided by certain theaters for boys selected by club leaders as likely to be courteous and appreciative and dependable. The Boys' Club has two motor busses which provide transportation at a small cost (payable in cash or work) to the mountains, the beach, or the desert.

From an active membership of 600 or 700 boys, there is a monthly attendance in the various activities of 8,000 to 10,000. Some boys come every day. Most of the members come several times each week.

The Boys' Club objectives are to understand and satisfy the basic personality urges of each boy. Those basic needs have been variously described but may be classed simply as the need for recognition (approval, status), for new experience (excitement, thrills, exhilaration), for affection (friendship), for power (success, achievement), for security (sense of belonging, sense of acceptance, feeling of safety). Children whose basic urges are not understood and not satisfied are those who develop serious behavior problems. Society does not focus its attention on underprivileged children of settlement-house areas until they become behavior problems and engage in antisocial activities. Then it requires a long, expensive, uphill process of rehabilitation which is not always successful and which is comparable to the technique of placing ambulances at the bottom of the precipice rather than a fence at the top.

The early discovery and treatment of children's problems is recognized as important in the prevention of delinquency. Recreation and character-building group-work programs are seriously handicapped by lack of adequate knowledge of the total personalities of the children and factors affecting their lives outside of the organization. Only where clinical service is rendered are complete family and personal histories made, adequate health examinations and psychological tests made, and



such personality tests and ratings as are necessary for accurate diagnosis. Interests and capacities, defects and special abilities, attitudes and social relationships must be known and properly interpreted at a conference of the various specialists on the staff.

This is the service made available to all the members of the All Nations Boys' Club.<sup>10</sup> Being a member automatically places a boy on the list for a case-history study. A social history, including all that is known about the boy is dictated by various members of the Boys' Club staff who know him. Then the case worker from the Child Welfare Clinic begins a complete case history. This history emphasizes attitudes and personal relationships, the home atmosphere, culture patterns and conflicts, and the status of the child in the home. Information is obtained regarding the health, habits, education, occupations, and religion of the paternal and maternal relatives, as well as the parents and siblings. The housing conditions, economic status, sleeping arrangements, and the sort of atmosphere which the home provides are ascertained. Data relative to the physical, mental, social, emotional, and spiritual development of the child in his home surroundings are obtained. In addition, a conference with the boy, which takes the form of a recreation interview,<sup>11</sup> offers much valuable material for understanding his personality.

A thorough physical examination is given each boy by a competent physician and psychological tests are given by the clinic psychologists. The tests used include the Stanford-Binet, a performance test where indicated, tests of educational achievement, aptitude tests, a number of different tests of personality traits, and several forms of ratings, including the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Rating Scale.

The combined information about each boy is all presented and studied at a case conference attended by staff members of both the Clinic and the Boys' Club. Each case is carefully analyzed and a long-time plan for treatment is formulated. Assignments for treatment are accepted by various members of the conference, and from time to time treatment or follow-up conferences are held. The two following cases very briefly illustrate the kind

<sup>10</sup> By the All Nations Child Welfare Clinic. (A similar service is rendered to girls belonging to the All Nations Girls' Department.)

<sup>11</sup> Devised by Illinois Institute of Juvenile Research.

of information which is brought together at a case conference, and the character of the treatment recommended:

*Case I.* Ed is a fifteen-year-old boy. He was not well assimilated in his club and recreation groups. It was learned that his intelligence quotient was 90 on a Binet test. The psychologist also reported a language or vocabulary difficulty. His vocabulary age was 12.8, or approximately two years below his mental age. Recommendations were therefore made for reading guidance and vocabulary-building games and activities such as crossword puzzles. The boy's father is dead and the case worker learned that the boy's hero is an uncle. He stated that his uncle wouldn't do anything wrong and that it was "O.K. to drink beer because my uncle drinks beer." Recommendations were made to assure the uncle's realization of his responsibility in being the boy's hero.

Other information led to recommendations and assignments for treatment relating to:

1. Educational and vocational guidance
2. Recreational guidance
3. Use of library card
4. Interest in piano, voice, and harmonica
5. Interest in dramatics
6. Interest in out-of-door life and expressed desire to become a ranger
7. Need for friends

*Case II.* Pedro has an intelligence quotient of 98 on a Binet test and an intelligence quotient of 120 on a performance test. As might be expected, he has a serious language handicap with a vocabulary age of ten years for a chronological age of fifteen years. His physical examination revealed a 4-plus Wasserman and need for dental care and circumcision. He hates school and home, loves movies, and spends most of his time in some movie, preferring a Jimmy Cagney picture to all others. He reads late in the night and arises often at 5 A.M. to go out with some other boys. Periodically he runs away from home for two or three days at a time. He admits being a member of a gang and prefers a "tough" leader. He can cook, sew, and wash quite well.

Recommendations for treatment included the enlisting of interest on the part of James Cagney to write to Pedro and through correspondence and an invitation to the movie studio to encourage the boy in constructive activities and acceptable conduct. Pedro was also appointed operator of the movie projector at the Boys' Club, much to his delight. Recreational guidance, educational and vocational guidance were gradually worked into the treatment picture and new interests were created and developed.

Armed with such information, the Boys' Club goes to work devising activities, programs, and responsibilities on the basis of the known needs of its members. Conduct problems, adjustment problems, development problems, understood in the light of a total personality, are more easily and adequately and intelligently handled. Poorly assimilated members are given more than customary attention to discover why they do not fit, and to learn what their wishes and needs may be:

*Case III.* Ralph, a very clever, professional pickpocket, always came into a meeting late and with considerable noise. He never passed up an opportunity to be the center of attention. He wanted and needed personal response and recognition. He was given responsibility as sergeant-at-arms, as treasurer, and finally as chairman of the welfare committee. Under his leadership, that committee diverted a gift of turkeys (meant for a boys' "feed") to distribution to certain very needy families discovered by the boys.

Ralph reported that this was the first kind deed of his life, and that he had discovered more fun out of giving turkeys to needy families than in eating them himself. Later, under his influence the committee asked a service club to cancel arrangements to entertain the All Nations Boys for Christmas dinner and to make available the money they had intended to spend on the dinner, so that the Boys' Club Welfare Committee could buy food to fill baskets for poor people.

A committee of thirty boys, under Ralph's leadership, had the satisfaction of selecting the most needy families in our district, purchasing food, filling and distributing the baskets. All of this was part of a carefully planned treatment, not only for Ralph, but for certain others in the group. Needless to say, the treatment gave recognition, response, and even new experience to Ralph, and was far-reaching in beneficial results.

*Case IV.* Juan, a young Mexican lad of the Catholic faith, was a half orphan his father having been killed in a street brawl. The boy was slightly hunchbacked, usually dirty and ragged, and possessed of a vicious temper. He was so lacking in the potentials for good that when his public-school teacher learned that he was to be given a trip to the All Nations Boys' Club summer camp, she wrote a letter to the club director telling him that Juan was not worthy of such consideration. She followed the letter with a personal visit to convince the director that Juan would never amount to any good. The director was far from convinced and took Juan to the camp, gained his confidence, inspired him to high ideals and ambitions.

Juan's back was straightened in the Boys' Club Corrective Department. His "temptations to right choices" were provided by the Boys' Club. He was encouraged and helped in his ambition for higher education.

Ten years have passed since his teacher wrote about the unworthy, unpromising boy. He should have been a serious behavior problem. He should have become a criminal. However, today he is a broad-shouldered, clear-eyed, serious-minded university student. He has a most pleasing personality, is well-mannered, dependable and lovable. He is preparing to serve in the field of journalism and recently wrote to the club director, "I am going to make good to the best of my ability to prove my appreciation for the confidence you had in me."

Members of the Boys' Club staff, charged with the responsibility of personal guidance, must know resources, types of activities and programs, but they must also know individual boys. They must know the needs and capacities of all boys and the special needs of boys who have behavior problems. Staff members are always on the alert for significant events or influences which affect the total life of boy members. Such events may occur at school, at home, on the streets, but are considered a definite responsibility of the Boys' Club staff to know and to do something about.

In November, 1933, a fight occurred between two boys several blocks away from All Nations. The affair was reported to the director, not because a fight was any novelty, but because important developments sometimes follow fights. On this occasion the smaller boy, after being licked, made threats of bringing the larger boy down to his size. The next in a chain of significant events occurred in a near-by alley. The boy made good his threat, waylaid his conqueror, and with the help of several pals, sent the larger boy to the receiving hospital with a split scalp, a badly damaged eye, and other injuries. Shortly thereafter the older boy organized a gang of five and the younger boys increased their number to about ten. The latter gang armed themselves with short pieces of pipe, taped for a good hand grip and carried under a sweater or coat. They also had some brass knuckles, some heavy magnets for throwing, and had greatly strengthened their defense with a stolen gun (a combination two-barrel .22-.44) which they threatened to use if attacked.

The situation was so serious that the school principal telephoned to the Boys' Club director to say that the students were tense with excitement and expectation.

In the meantime, the Boys' Club staff was well aware of everything that was taking place and the director was having interviews with each boy involved in the fracas. He sought through these interviews to learn what was back of the whole affair, what events, both primary and secondary, were influencing their action and *what each boy wanted out of the results*. The director was immeasurably helped in these interviews by a knowledge of each boy's needs, wishes, and interests. After discovering all that he could from each boy's story of the contributing causes and desired objectives, the director was able to influence the thinking of each boy, which led to self-determined decisions of lasting significance. The older boys decided to drop the fight and try to win the friendship of the younger fellows. As Catholic boys they decided to try to put into practice on week-days the principles they professed on Sunday. The members of the younger boys' gang checked in their "weapons," including the gun, to the Boys' Club director, and agreed to play the game fairly with the older group.

On the basis of known interests and wishes, the club leaders were successful in placing nearly all of the boys involved in the two gangs into activities which held their interest and attention. The activities which attracted and held most of them were in the field of music and art. The boy who had been sent to the hospital became president of the social club and later asked to become leader of a group of Friendly Indians (eleven- and twelve-year-old boys). A ukulele club was organized for the benefit of six of the boys involved. Three entered a harmonica band, four became active in the model aircraft club. All of the boys involved in the preparations for "war" found expression in new interests or in a more satisfactory participation in old interests.

Other phases of the club's treatment of the situation included the interpretation of the boys' conduct to their parents, and securing the cooperation of the school and church in dealing with the boys. The father of one of the youngsters had literally driven his boy away from home with unwarranted thrashings. The lad had run away and was staying with a pal. This situation formed a nucleus for the younger boys' gang. These were the two boys

who controlled the stolen gun. Influence from the All Nations staff remedied the situation through parental education, so that the runaway has since been living at home harmoniously.

Certain members of the gang, thrown together for common protection, were becoming habitual truants. Again the Boys' Club leaders were instrumental in reenlisting their cooperation and interest in school attendance, and the Catholic priest was notified of the decision of the older boys to make their religion relate itself to their daily conduct. This treatment, handled by recreation workers, without law-enforcement authority, was so effective that the "truce" entered into voluntarily has at the time of this writing been in effect two years. During this period not even a word battle has occurred between members of the two groups.

As one aspect of its crime-prevention work the All Nations Boys' Club has a summer camp to which many boys are sent. Not only is the camp a "part of" but quite often it proves to be the significant "climax" to, the year's program of activities in the lives of certain youngsters. Boys of the All Nations area do not have money with which to pay the cost of a twelve-day period at camp, so they pay what they can and are given the opportunity to work for the balance, which is provided by service clubs, groups, and friends of the Boys' Club. Camp is a place where life is in actual process. The life of the camp can be controlled more completely than any other educational situation in a way to make operative all the constructive influences in the boy's life. The camp is situated in the mountains at an elevation of 6,000 feet. It is in charge of the Boys' Club director, assisted by the Boys' Club coach, the handicraft teacher, and plenty of carefully selected counselors.

Individual record cards are kept for each boy attending camp. These cards contain a brief of his problems, interests, and wishes, and a list of recommendations concerning his activities at camp. The following is a typical record card:

Jimmy \_\_\_\_\_

I.Q. 110

Sex information

Enuresis

Leadership opportunity

Loves archery—should make own archery outfit while at camp

Journalism interest—edit or help edit camp newspaper  
Give recreation interview  
Need for friends, personal response  
Has no father—needs leader who can win his confidence

The camp registration for each period is purposely limited so that boys may receive the proper amount of individual attention at camp. Many boys are selected and encouraged to prepare for camp because of some special need which not infrequently relates to behavior problems. Activities at camp, as at the club, are organized to help satisfy the basic wishes for recognition, for response, for new experience, for security. The quiet and steady development of each boy's personality, capacities, and powers is an ever-present objective.

One boy, who had been in two safe-cracking jobs, had stolen several automobiles, and had a record of many delinquencies, was taken to camp. It was the first time he had been out of the city. Almost every experience and relationship was new to him. The influence of camp environment, both social and physical, caused this boy to take stock of himself, and to decide privately and secretly to change personal goals and objectives. For seven years since that experience he has never been in any difficulty with law-enforcement agencies. Another boy who could not see anything wrong with stealing, and whose gang activities in stealing were known to the Boys' Club director, had a similar experience at All Nations camp. He found himself and returned to the city with changed attitudes toward the other fellow's property. He was later placed on the Boys' Club staff, intrusted with keys, and made good.

If camp experience, in connection with recreation and character-building programs, is capable of such influence as described in the two foregoing cases, it will also be a potent factor in preventing the development of attitudes which lead to the commission of delinquency and crime. In our total program at All Nations we are convinced that the camp experience offers some of the best opportunities for achieving our objective, of preventing and reducing juvenile delinquency.

What is the All Nations Boys' Club accomplishing in prevention of juvenile delinquency? An exhaustive examination of

the police records for 1920 and 1925,<sup>12</sup> and the records for 1929 and 1930<sup>13</sup> after the club had been in operation for three years, furnished a basis for determining the accomplishment of the club in reducing juvenile delinquency. As a check on the findings, a further study, which concerned itself with another thorough examination of police records of 11,074 cases was made in 1929.<sup>14</sup> This survey revealed a reduction in juvenile crime, according to police records, of 67.4 per cent for an area of four square miles of which the All Nations Club is the center. When this area was narrowed down to 58 square blocks immediately surrounding the club, the decrease since 1925 was found to have been 82.2 per cent. To further substantiate these findings, the Los Angeles County chief probation officer<sup>15</sup> reported in print in 1932, that "the area surrounding Sixth and Gladys, where the All Nations Boys' Club is located, is now the only white spot on the map of Los Angeles."<sup>16</sup> The judge of the Juvenile Court<sup>17</sup> writes that "not one act of vandalism occurs on Hallowe'en in the All Nations area." This is a record of four years' standing.

Parents, teachers, business men, and public officials have on many occasions testified to the quite evident values in character building and crime prevention as witnessed by them in the lives of All Nations Boys' Club members.

One notable recognition of the achievement in reduction and prevention of juvenile delinquency through activities at the All Nations Boys' Club came in 1932. The Los Angeles Echo Park Coordinating Council discovered that a portion of their council district had become the highest delinquency area in the city. This council, composed of representatives of Police, Probation and Recreation departments, the Board of Education, and other public and private agencies, honored the All Nations Foundation by requesting them to establish a branch of their Boys' Club and Girls' Department in the troublesome area. Such a branch was

<sup>12</sup> Study initiated and financed by Los Angeles Rotary Club. Directed by Dr. Emory S. Bogardus, Dean of the Department of Sociology, University of Southern California.

<sup>13</sup> By Mr. Otto E. Buss, University of Southern California, a Master's thesis.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> Kenyon J. Scudder.

<sup>16</sup> See *The Rodeo*, Los Angeles Rotary Club weekly, February, 1932.

<sup>17</sup> The Honorable Robert H. Scott.



established with the help and backing of the Los Angeles Rotary, Kiwanis, and Exchange clubs, and the Friday Morning Women's Club. An old church building was remodeled and activities began in 1933. There had been 660 Juvenile Court cases from the neighborhood of the new agency during 1932. This number dropped to 295 in 1934 and further decreased to 156 in 1935. This evidence is submitted as another measure of the effectiveness of the Boys' Club program in the field of crime prevention.

A further proof of the effectiveness of the work of the All Nations Boys' Club in reducing delinquency lies in a comparison of the characteristics of underprivileged children of the All Nations district with those of groups of delinquents in several parts of the country. A study of the incidence of seventeen so-called causal factors in their lives showed that in the All Nations cases these factors appeared approximately as frequently as was the average for the delinquent groups, although only 5 per cent of the All Nations children were found to have Juvenile Court records. It is indeed a very rare occasion when a boy from All Nations is taken before the Juvenile Court.

The group now served by the Club includes some boys with serious behavior problems, but All Nations may be more truly said to be dealing with the problems of children than with problem children. It must be evident that the program of All Nations is a positive rather than a negative approach to the problem of the prevention of juvenile delinquency. It is our belief that juvenile delinquency is a social phenomenon for which the boy himself is not responsible. Therefore the All Nations Boys' Club is dedicated to the purpose of providing many "temptations to right choices," in order that underprivileged children may have a "new deal."

## Chapter XXIII

### THE WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS, BOYS' CLUB

DAVID W. ARMSTRONG\*

#### *Managing Director*

For 46 years the Worcester Boys' Club has been providing facilities and leadership for leisure-time activities for boys. When the Club was established in 1889, its avowed objective was to deal with the neglected boy. It has developed into a large organization having two large buildings with all sorts of recreational and training facilities and with a staff of paid trained workers. In all this development the principles which are common to all Boys' Clubs have been maintained. The work has been carried on for boys in those sections of the city that have been shown not only by common knowledge, but by investigation, to contain the greatest amount of poverty and social deterioration. In one congested area in which a social survey was made in 1934 it was found that there was a boy population of 3,361 in a square mile compared with an average of 474 boys per square mile in the whole city; and the rate of delinquency was 3.6 per cent for boys seven to sixteen years of age, against a rate of 1.57 per cent for boys of the same age in the whole city. In this area, 60.3 per cent of all the boys between ten and sixteen were members of the Boys' Club.

The Boys' Club serves a large enough number of boys to have a definite effect upon the boy population of the city. During the year ending October 1, 1935, the total enrolled membership was 7,767. There are as members 42 per cent of all the boys in Worcester between the ages of ten and sixteen. This is an active membership, for during last winter an average of 2,100 boys per

\* One of the first probation officers for juvenile delinquents in Massachusetts. Managing Director of Worcester Boys' Club and also executive secretary of Worcester Community Chest and member of Board of Directors of Boys' Clubs of America.—EDITORS' NOTE.

day took part in one or more activities of the program. Total attendance for the year was 450,000. Thus the Club not only contacted enough boys to be significant, but its contacts with them were intensive enough to have a vital influence.

Any boy up to sixteen years of age may join the Worcester Boys' Club without regard to color, nationality, religion, or character. Any boy who has been a member previous to his seventeenth birthday may continue his membership until he is twenty-one years of age, and in some instances beyond. Other boys seventeen years of age and over are admitted to membership if there seems to be a special need. These are usually boys who have insufficient funds for fees in other organizations or who "fit" best with the boys in the Club.

The fees are 5 cents a month or 25 cents a year for boys up to thirteen years old, 10 cents a month or 50 cents a year for boys fourteen, fifteen, and sixteen years old, and \$2.00 a year for boys seventeen and over. There are no extra fees for any activities, except for motion pictures (5 cents), dances (10 cents), billiards, and for admission to athletic, swimming, and basketball contests in which representative teams are competing with outside organizations. All of the essential activities are provided without any additional fees. Such things as lockers, towels, soap, and even gymnasium suits are provided free of charge. Any boy whose family is on relief is admitted free or given the opportunity to work for his ticket, as is any boy upon a statement by a social worker, a school-teacher, or a police officer, that he needs the Boys' Club and his family is unable to pay the fee.

The Club has a Recreation and Social Department, a Physical Training Department, a Health Department, an Educational and Vocational Guidance Department and a Behavior Department.

The Recreation and Social Department includes five large game rooms equipped with tables for billiards, table tennis, cards, carroms, checkers, dominoes, and all sorts of table games. There are table and floor games for all ages of boys. Each of the two buildings has an assembly hall equipped with stage, footlights, and complete sound motion picture equipment. The boys are grouped into "teams" for all sorts of contests for the purpose of sustaining interest and for contacts with leaders. Demonstrations are given of correct ways to play games. Concerts,

dramatics, and minstrel shows with boy talent are given. Parties for the younger boys, and dancing assemblies for the older boys and their girl friends are conducted.

The Physical Training Department includes two large gymnasiums, two small ones, two special exercise rooms and necessary shower and locker rooms. The boys are divided into several age and weight divisions. There are physical-training classes for all the boys and special classes in athletics, basketball, and gymnastics for those who need special exercises under supervision to correct physical defects or whose physical condition makes participation in regular activities undesirable or dangerous. Here again the boys are divided into groups or "teams" for all sorts of athletic contests, indoor baseball and basketball leagues under leadership.

There are two modern swimming pools in which every precaution is taken to safeguard health. Boys must be clean before they can swim in Club pools. Boys who cannot swim are put into beginners' classes. Here is where the well-known "fish tests" for proficiency in the water were originated, developing progress in swimming and also sustaining interest. Lifesaving is taught, Red Cross tests are given and emblems awarded. Different age groups participate in all sorts of contests. As is done throughout the Club, the boys here are divided into "teams" for these contests.

There are four reading libraries in the Club, which owns the best of books for all ages of boys and subscribes for the best magazines. There are public-library books on the shelves which boys may borrow to take home. Storytelling periods are conducted. Drawing, spelling, and other educational contests are carried on. Boys are assisted in their school work by being taught how to use the reference books. Classes are conducted in woodworking, printing, electricity, mechanical drawing, freehand drawing, poster and show-card work, office training and practice, also hobby groups in metal, leather, and woodcrafts. The principal objective of these activities is to awaken ambitions and assist boys to find out their skills and aptitudes.

In the Health Department, the boys are examined by physicians and physical defects are discovered. Some are prevented from participating in physical activities at all, others are limited in their activities, while still others are given special training and

supervision in gymnasiums and pools. Others are referred to nurses assigned full time to the Boys' Club by the District Nursing Society for follow-up in the homes to correct defects and weaknesses. A staff of consulting physicians, dentists, hospitals, medicinal and dental clinics, fresh-air organizations, and social agencies cooperate in this work.

In the Educational and Vocational Guidance Department, all of the boys in the classes are under constant study, and in addition hundreds of other boys are individually studied to discover aptitudes and skills. All are advised and assisted in securing proper training for their lifework. Jobs for many are secured and scholarships in colleges for some.

The Behavior Department comprises all of the workers in the Club of leadership position, under the personal direction of the managing director, two superintendents, two assistant superintendents and the educational and vocational-guidance director. Each leader or instructor understands that his job is not only to organize and instruct, but to know the boys under his charge, and to guide and influence them in their thinking and attitudes.

We believe that our regular activities have kept countless boys on the straight and narrow way to success and upright manhood by occupying their time, guiding their thoughts, training their bodies, and stimulating and helping them into the best use of their capabilities. We have provided wholesome substitutes for the activities, companionships, and leadership of the streets.

Formerly we had a passive attitude toward delinquents. We did not seek them, neither did we bar them. We disclaimed any responsibility for them on the basis that reform was not our job and that we were concerned with keeping boys good and building up health, brain, and hand efficiency. This is still our primary responsibility, but we are endeavoring to deal with delinquents and potential delinquents individually, exactly as we deal with the boys who have individual physical or vocational problems.

In 1931 we began to make a special effort to hold the delinquents in our membership and to reinterest those who dropped out. To this end we have been attending all of the juvenile sessions of the court to contact the delinquents and their parents as well as boys reported by the police but not brought into court, and have tried to get them into the Club. One result of this

policy has been that 145 holders of Boys' Club memberships in 1934 were delinquent boys. Our total membership was then 7,522. And each year we have been building up a larger number of delinquents and behavior cases in our membership.

Our procedure in making contact with young delinquent boys is as follows: Our superintendents attend the court sessions and contact the boys and their parents. The chief purpose of this is to interest the boys and their parents sufficiently so that they will agree to come to a Boys' Club building for an interview. We use our superintendents in all this personal contact work with boys and parents because they are men already known to the boys and their parents and because their relationship is a friendly one. We feel that we could not get the same results if we employed men for the particular purpose who would quickly become known as "workers with delinquent or problem boys."

If the superintendents fail in their objective of getting the boy and his parents to the Club, home visits are made. We employ a Club visitor for this purpose and also for succeeding visits if such are necessary in order to maintain the home contacts. In the interviews at the Club, effort is made to interest the boy in the Club program and to interest his parents in what the Club can do to help them with their boy's problems. Interest, if possible, is directed toward a particular activity. The instructors and leaders of the Club are directed to give special attention to these boys, to make every effort to hold their interest, and to guide them in their thinking and in their attitudes. All this is done in a natural way and without the boy knowing that he is being given special attention because he is a delinquent. The instructors and leaders meet regularly to report on these boys and to compare notes. Contact with the parents is maintained as much as possible.

An illustration of how this work is done is shown in two cases:

*Case I.* This is the case of a boy aged sixteen who committed breaking, entering, and larceny in seven places. He broke into homes when the families were away. He told his father he earned money by selling magazines through house-to-house calls. One of our superintendents talked with this boy and his father and learned that the boy was interested in boxing. He convinced the boy that his body needed building up for boxing, and suggested that he first take up wrestling. He worked at this in the Club for eight months. Then he started his training as a

boxer. He has been interested and occupied ever since his arrest, and there has not been the slightest indication of further delinquency.

*Case II.* Another boy, aged eleven, was brought into court in January, 1934, for breaking, entering, and larceny. He had been delinquent in 1930 and again in 1933. He had been a member of the Boys' Club. At the interview the superintendent learned that the father had been unemployed for a long time and he gave the boy a year's membership ticket in the Club. He became very active, being particularly interested in swimming and basketball. He was selected as a captain of one of the basketball teams. His father has been very much interested in the boy's progress in the Club and has visited the building regularly. This summer, the boy took the Junior Red Cross Life Saving Test and failed to pass. He asked for the emblem because he said he had promised his father he would get it. The superintendent convinced the boy that he would be wrong in accepting something he had not earned, and that he should tell his father he failed, but would keep on trying. Then the instructor offered to give him private lessons, so that the boy was enabled to pass the test this fall.

We do not attempt to do case work in the families of these boys, nor do we do any of the work which is the function of the probation officers. We only do the things for the boys which arise out of the activities of the Club and the boys' relationship with it. We maintain contact with the parents and homes to secure cooperation in our work with the boy in the Club. Ours is a purely Boys' Club relationship and we do not function as social workers or probation officers. We proceed on the theory that if we can keep a boy occupied and interested in wholesome activity, and if we can influence his thinking and his attitudes, we have done our part of the job. We are careful not to treat the boys as delinquents, but as members of the club.

We do, however, make use of all the Club's facilities in the treatment of the boy. If he is undernourished and underweight, if he has bad habits, and if he has physical defects, we find them out in the course of the Club's regular physical examinations. The defects are corrected in our Physical Department and through the District Nursing Society which assigns special nurses to us for this work. In this way we get into many homes and establish valuable contacts with parents. If a boy has any particular educational or vocational problem we seek solutions in our Guidance Department, again a regular part of our work. We attempt to adjust him to his school work or to his job. We also

interest him in his future as a worker and in training for a definite occupation. We place many such boys in our vocational-training classes and we get jobs for some.

We are endeavoring to have as close a relationship with other organizations as possible. We work very closely with the probation officers. Many of the delinquent boys have been brought to the attention of the Child Guidance Clinic by the probation officers and some by us. The assistance of the District Nursing Society in correcting physical defects has already been referred to. The delinquency cases are registered in the Social Service Exchange and we receive reports on these cases. We are in touch with other social-work agencies. Several of them send boys to us.

I have referred to our general work with the mass of the membership in which, through day-by-day contact between boys and leaders, there is a constant guidance of individual boys. This is the most important part of our work in the prevention of delinquency. We would like to single out the boys in our membership who exhibit bad behavior tendencies, for the same organized special attention that we now give to out-and-out delinquents. Due to limitations of staff we have not yet been able to do this in an organized way, though every leader knows boys of this type and is giving them all of the special attention possible under the circumstances. Here is a field for development with large possibilities.

The following three cases are further illustrations of our special work with delinquents:

*Case III.* Tony is thirteen years old. He is underdeveloped both physically and mentally. In 1932 he was tested at the Child Guidance Clinic and his intelligence quotient was found to be only 71. His school work has been unsatisfactory and now, at thirteen, he is only in the fifth grade. The family consists of the parents and five children. They live in three rooms in a rundown flat in a crowded and unattractive neighborhood. Private welfare agencies and the Board of Public Welfare have aided the family for several years.

The parents were born in Italy. The father, when he had work, was an unskilled laborer. He never had any schooling. The only disciplinary method he uses is corporal punishment. The mother and children say that "every so often he gets a spell and hits everybody in the house." The mother is a nervous woman. The only schooling she has had is two winters of evening school after she arrived in this



country. She admits she has no control over her children, but blames the gang for her boys' troubles. The oldest brother, fifteen years old, has a long delinquency record, and is now on parole from an industrial school.

Tony first appeared before the court in August, 1931, charged with two counts of breaking, entering, and larceny. He was placed on probation. In July, 1932, he stole fruit from a truck, and in September, 1932, he stole knives from a hardware store. On the last case he was given a suspended sentence to the Industrial School. In September, 1934, he was complained of for trespassing. Our men have seen Tony leave the Boys' Club after reporting to the probation officer, go directly across the square into a market, and emerge with stolen articles of food.

We came into contact with him in August, 1931, when he first appeared in court. At the request of the probation officer he and his older brother were given membership tickets to the Boys' Club. Both of them caused considerable trouble in the Club and in the neighborhood. For a long time we could not arouse Tony's interest in any Club activity. A little over a year ago, while working for his membership ticket in the library, he came into contact with the librarian, who with other Club workers had been instructed to see what could be done with Tony. After several casual talks with the boy, the librarian, induced him to enter a drawing contest held in the library. He won the prize and has won several more since. In the following months he spent a great deal of time in the library, reading, drawing, and often just talking to the librarian.

Gradually he began to participate in other Club activities. This winter he has been a member of several gymnasium and swimming groups, coming into contact with other Club leaders. His physical condition has improved, and he has become very careful of his personal appearance. His school work has improved, and his conduct, both in the Club and outside, has decidedly changed for the better.

*Case IV.* John is fourteen years old. He is small for his age and about average in intelligence. The family consists of the parents and two children. They live in a crowded but fairly good neighborhood, having moved a few months ago from a rather bad one. Several private social-welfare agencies have dealt with the family over a period of years. The Board of Public Welfare gave relief. During the past two years the father has worked on C. W. A., E. R. A. and W. P. A. projects.

The parents are American born. The father, when he had regular employment was a low-grade machinist. He is an occasional drunkard. The mother is a woman of good character, is very much interested in her family, and does her utmost to keep her home neat and clean.

John committed his first known and recorded delinquent act at the age of eight. He was charged with larceny but was not brought into court. He was in court in November, 1933, and again in January, 1934,

for breaking, entering, and larceny. He was placed on probation both times. He has been a member of the Boys' Club for short periods since 1929. We began special effort with him in November, 1930. Progress was very slow and it was not until 1933 that he really began to take part in the Club program.

Following his offense in 1933, our superintendent succeeded in getting the boy and his father in to see him. The three of them talked over the boy's actions, his desires, and his ambitions. For the first time the father became interested in the possibilities of the Club for John. Since the father was unemployed we gave the boy a full year's membership ticket and he enrolled for swimming and basketball. To further increase John's interest we made him captain of a basketball team, and the results in behavior and physical development were amazing.

In the summer of 1935, the boy took the Red Cross Life Saving Test and failed. He begged for the emblem because he had promised his father he would get it and hated to disappoint him. The superintendent talked with him about taking something that he had not earned, and convinced him that he should tell his father he had failed but would keep on trying.

This winter we are giving John private lessons and undoubtedly he will pass the test next spring. We have held his interest in this one activity for several months. His father visits the Club often to see how he is getting on. They are both interested. There has been no delinquency since June, 1934, and there is not likely to be any.

*Case V.* Harry is seventeen years old. He is retarded three years in school, being only in his first year in high school. He is well developed physically. The family consists of the parents and five children. They live in a dilapidated tenement in a poor neighborhood. Harry's mother and father were born in Syria. The father is a cobbler who earns very little but has kept the family off relief. He works early and late and has little time to devote to his children. The mother can speak no English and mistrusts most people. She manages to keep the home neat and clean.

Harry's first recorded delinquency was in 1931 when at the age of thirteen he was apprehended for larceny. This case was handled out of court. In 1932 he was brought into court for larceny and put on probation. In July and August, 1935, he was charged with disturbing the peace and violation of a city ordinance, and again put on probation.

He had been a member of the Boys' Club spasmodically since 1928, but had never been interested in any activity. Last summer when we tried to get him back into the Club he said, "The Club's for sissies." Later on we tried again and this time the boy said he had no money. We offered to let him work for his ticket but he said it was "too hot to work." A little later he agreed to work for his ticket but refused to help

the janitor "because it is too dirty." He finally did the work, however, and got his ticket.

In the following months he caused considerable trouble in the Club. He became the leader of a group of Italian boys, and with them he picked fights with many other boys. Our superintendent finally told him that it might be that one of our champion boxers would pick a fight with him and give him a taste of his own medicine. This had a good effect because the fights stopped. After this the supervisor of the Older Boys' Department succeeded in interesting Harry in its activities. He has taken part in many contests and has won several honors. He took a very great liking to this supervisor. Up to this time Harry had felt that "everybody was against him." He still feels that the supervisor is his only friend and he and his gang have gone to the supervisor with many problems. They have even related to him details of various thefts and how articles stolen were disposed of.

This supervisor has a remarkable influence over this boy and his gang, and little by little he has succeeded in shifting their interest from destructive to other activities. One of the activities in which the boy has become interested is dancing. We taught him how to dance and he comes to all the dancing parties. His appearance has improved, and there is a decided change in his previously rough and loud language. The change is not only in Harry but in the whole gang. Instead of its members meeting to plan thefts, they are participating often, as a group, in basketball games, swimming contests, and even in checker tournaments.

The question is naturally raised as to the effect on the boys as a whole by the increase of the number of delinquent boys in the organization. The answer to this is that the proved delinquents constitute a small proportion of the membership. Boys are in contact with delinquents in their neighborhoods and in the schools; therefore, the Club is not instrumental in bringing them into original contact. Furthermore, we do not believe that the boys are subjected as much to adverse influences in the Boys' Club as they are in their home neighborhoods and before and afterschool sessions, when there is considerable "hanging around" and idleness.

We believe that because we have so many needy boys, and because the activities in the Boys' Club are so natural for the development of boy characters, the expansion of our special efforts with boys in particular need of guidance will bring rich dividends in the prevention of delinquency. We do not claim that we have been the sole factor in the reduction of juvenile

delinquency in Worcester, nor even that we have done more than others, but the following figures are significant: In the fiscal year 1930-1931 there were 440 juveniles before the courts of Worcester; in 1933-1934 there were 297 juveniles. Possibly the fact that we operate in those areas of the city that have consistently produced the largest number of juvenile delinquents, and that we have, through our staff and program, attempted especially to make contact with and hold the delinquent and predelinquent boys justifies us in concluding that we may have had something to do with this record.

No attempt has been made to measure the effects of the work of this club over a long period of years, either in the prevention of delinquency or in relation to any other effects it might have had in the lives of boys; but with the growing demand that all types of social-welfare work present evidence to prove their claims of success, studies have been undertaken in the last ten years which have been of value in focusing attention upon some of the achievements of the Club. In 1931 we completed the assembling of all available data in regard to men who had been members of the Boys' Club during 1915 and 1918 inclusive. Of 3,533 individuals, who were members during these three years, 71 per cent or 2,421 were located. Only four of these were in jail; the group had been arrested 168 times during the sixteen-year period from 1915 to 1931, an average of less than one-half of one per cent.

In the year ending September 30, 1933, there were 310 different boys under seventeen years of age before our court. Of these 110, or 36 per cent, held membership tickets in the Boys' Club at the time of the commission of the offenses which brought them before the court. In addition, 86 had at some time been members of the Club. The number of minor cases handled by probation officers without court appearance was 374 in the same year. Of these, 94 were members of the Club and 68 were former members. Combining the figures for in-court and out-of-court cases, 204 boys were members of the Club at the time they became delinquent in 1932-1933, and there were 154 former members who were delinquent. Of the 154 former members we succeeded in getting 46, or 30 per cent, back into our membership. Some of the others had been sent to institutions, some had moved to some distance from the Club buildings, and some we could not reinterest.

Combining the 204 who held membership and the 46 former members who rejoined, we had 250 boys in our membership who had committed delinquencies in 1932-1933. We held 183 of them, or 73 per cent, into the next year. We lost 67 of them because some committed new offenses and were sent away, and some moved away from the Club areas. We do not know how many we lost because of lack of interest. We have, however, entirely disproved the idea that boys with delinquent tendencies will not join a character-building organization and place themselves under its supervision and influence. Of these 250 members 95, or 38 per cent, committed an additional offense during the average period of twelve months following their contact with our Behavior Department. Of the whole number 155, or 62 per cent of them, kept straight.

The future of the work of our Boys' Club as it relates to the prevention of delinquency probably lies in three directions. First, and probably the most important, is in the provision of activities and leadership for a very large proportion of the boys in congested areas. This has both negative and constructive effects. It takes boys off the streets and away from destructive activities. It provides wholesome activity and companionship in a good environment and under leadership, and it stimulates ambition. The second step toward a crime-prevention program lies in special effort with those who have become delinquent. The third step is in an intensification of the work with individual boys not yet delinquent, but whose habits, behavior, and attitudes indicate a tendency toward delinquency. We must, however, always be careful that the Boys' Club does not become known to have as its chief purpose the prevention of delinquency or that this becomes, in fact, its chief work. Its very purpose would be destroyed. In such an organization we would lose first the non-delinquents and then the delinquents themselves. We must not neglect the great mass of the boys for the few, nor must we forget our constructive purposes for all the boys. We must deal with behavior-problem boys as we deal with those who need individual physical or vocational attention or guidance: as boys who need more than just the opportunity for normal development.

We have in our membership, however, a large proportion of the boys of Worcester who are likely to become delinquent. We have the ability to interest them and retain their interest. We have the opportunity to guide their development in a perfectly natural environment. We never will be able to interest all the potential delinquents. Neither will we be able to counteract all of the adverse conditions and influences that surround boys, but we can save a large proportion of them for useful lives.

## Chapter XXIV

### CRIME PREVENTION PROGRAM OF THE Y.M.C.A., ST. LOUIS\*

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In 1919, at the close of the war, the author was faced with the task of creating an interest in so-called "character-building" activities with gangs of boys in that portion of St. Louis known as the South Side. This work was sponsored by the Young Men's Christian Association of this district of St. Louis. In St. Louis, as in every other great city, there are hundreds of these gangs, good, bad, and indifferent. Spotting a map of this area with pins representing arrests of juveniles, there was found in that section close to the river a larger population, the lowest rent areas, and more delinquency than in any other section of the district. This particular district (Soulard Library) has 67,000 people according to the last census—more than any other like area in the city of St. Louis. Here are the cheapest rents and the most squalid conditions of habitation. It also sheltered a notorious gang which has since been eliminated by the Federal Government. Here also was found, besides real poverty, a varied foreign population, lack of respect for law, and often

\* This article is based largely on a paper of the author's entitled "Gangs, an Asset to the City of St. Louis," published in the Year Book of the National Probation Association, 1934. The materials have been rearranged to meet the needs of this symposium, but entire sections are duplications of paragraphs appearing in the article referred to. The editors of the symposium and the author wish to express their thanks to the National Probation Association for permission to use this paper.—EDITORS' NOTE.

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unintelligent and bullying police tactics. We started our first gang club in the very center of this river area.

Organization of delinquency is found, if anywhere, in the street-corner gang. For the success of a gang approach toward the prevention of crime, it is fortunate that this is true. Like dynamite it works for good or evil. With an athletic or social objective it often has merit and can be classed as good. The indifferent gang is generally a good gang in process of decay, and frequently it becomes the bad gang. The bad gang through lack of a program and intelligent leadership succumbs entirely to destructive leadership and lawless but exciting objectives.

After an unbroken period of fifteen years there are now forty of these clubs, once gangs, in this and adjacent areas—not many to be sure, but sufficient on which to report. Each one of these gangs is sponsored by a substantial citizen in whom it has confidence. They have an average membership of 25 and rent their own club quarters in buildings of various sizes. They are federated in one large organization, which maintains athletic leagues, camping facilities, meetings for their sponsors and officers and acts as a clearing house for larger opportunities for personal development. The programs of the individual clubs are inspired by this general organization through the sponsor of the local club. The club offers opportunities of recreation, physical development, and social and educational activities to these gangs which prior to this time they have not had.

In this particular area competition from the regular boys' work agencies is not noticeable. These boys have little money for membership in any Y.M.C.A. and little inclination to join the Scouts. Such activities seem to swirl by this type of district. As to education, twelve of these clubs with 177 active members, had 132 grammar-school graduates and 25 high-school graduates. However, the program approach in many respects must be geared down to about the sixth- or seventh-grade level.

Let us not be deluded into believing that we can break up these gangs through police efforts, that we can lure them permanently into artificial surroundings; that we can build enough settlement houses to reach them, or that we can spend enough money to bribe them into subjection. We would not do this if we could. Our very strength lies in the weakness of the gang, and our educational foundation is already laid in the gang's natural origin of



common interests. Our approach is unique. We go to the gang, capture it, sponsor it, encourage its growth, require no financial allegiance. We make it an entity in its own community, a purposeful natural group no longer a gang, but the haven of an entire neighborhood, unshackled by a brick and mortar inclosure, mobile, demanding daily results for its right to live.

The difficulties to be overcome by sponsor and gang are those that make for individual and group delinquency, and only intelligent, strong leadership finds a way to overcome them. This new leadership has the confidence of police who can afford now to use patience in dealing with the gang. Their only other recourse without it was to disperse the gang, break it up, a procedure often interpreted by the gang as persecution. For instance, a gang called the Canadians endeavored one night at a dance of the Night Hawks to break up the party. A knife had already been drawn by a drunk. Our club organizer saved the day by supporting his club in physical combat. The Canadians were routed, drinks, knives and all. From then on dances were no longer held in club quarters, but in public supervised centers. Police officials did not interfere with the discipline of this outfit and a permanent lesson was taught the neighborhood. This is not our usual method of work, but after this quick-action situation we were able to convince our clubs that public dances in their own clubrooms were dangerous, as we could not control outsiders. Thus we advanced another point by cooperation of the police in our approach.

One club of 57 young men on the very bank of the Mississippi River had rented a two-story brick building. This building, several years ago, was what is called a "clip joint," the scene of at least one murder, and still in an undesirable neighborhood. The boys had repaired the structure, painted the red triangle on the wall, and had as sponsor for eight months a prominent St. Louis doctor, when the following incident occurred:

We had tried for months to have the boys discontinue making home-brew, which was given away at their pay dances as a means of raising money. Finally the crisis came. Police were called in by a disgruntled ex-member who alleged that he had been charged ten cents for a glass of home-brew while one of these parties was in progress. Unfortunately, the doctor had been called away a few minutes before the party closed and was not

present when the police arrived at 1 A.M. I was called out of bed from police headquarters. One of the boys, the president, thought that he should take the responsibility, admitting the sale of beer, because he was not so sure that this might not have happened. This matter was handled by diplomatic and intelligent officials, who understand our problems and who cooperated in adjusting this situation. We were able to convince this club that home-brew caused much inconvenience to our organization and got us all into trouble. Not only this club, but a dozen others quit the home-brew habit upon this appeal alone. Such support from police and judges strengthens our hands, gives us a leverage to raise these tough groups into another stage of character development.

Friendship must come sooner or later into the life of a boy and his gang. A counselor, guide or sponsor may open the door of a new world to gangs in these areas where church, school, and home have little influence. These men bring friendship and confidence, the most precious of gifts, and on this confidence rests the entire plan of procedure. The day such friendship begins, crime is waging a losing fight in one more gang. "Your friendship alone," said one of the Italian boys in our organization, "has made us Italian gangs come closer together in friendship and wiped out many hard feelings." This lad stopped me in my car at midnight just to tell me this as I drove past his club in that section which has been called "The Hill."

If the sponsor is a man well known, he is termed a "big shot" and readily makes first contact. All boys are hero worshipers. Frequently these gangs have had the wrong heroes to admire. Many of our sponsors are men of local reputation, executives, men of considerable education; others have risen from the ranks and by great devotion won their way also into the hearts of our boys who will follow them through fire and water as blindly as they might have followed another type.

Lacking this elementary education, however, who is there to assume the place of substitute for these fundamental agencies? We find it in this gang sponsor, whom we carefully select and tactfully introduce to the gang. The sponsor must begin with the elementary problems of the gang and proceed from one solution to the next. Some of these problems are very real. Parents themselves, though frequently asked to aid their boys, are quickly

suspicious and antagonistic at first to any offers of outside friendship. The sponsor has an immediate problem of parent education. The sponsor of the Night Hawks forced a confession from two hold-up men that they had "framed" a member of the club. But for this help an innocent boy in all probability would have been sentenced. All through this trying period the parents of this lad had faith in the sponsor, and when victory was achieved the entire neighborhood for blocks knew through whom it had been accomplished. Many of the clubs have a bad name in the community, and any increase in activity, though it be due directly to our program, must be explained to certain people to secure community cooperation. Our Shamrock Club, for instance, was watched "like a hawk" by an old lady a few doors away. According to a police official, she was always well posted as to where his scout cars were cruising and never failed to make complaints on anything she could not understand. Continued nagging by this type of person aggravates the tension between tough gangs and police officials and may be a very real obstacle to the new sponsor for many weeks.

Most of these clubhouses are rented from real-estate agents who are cautious about rentees. Gangs frequently break windows, doors, and in other ways destroy property. The Night Hawks, for instance, rented from a real-estate agent a corner saloon with a large room in the front and small one in the rear. The small room was rented by a man living above the saloon, who tore up the floor, but moved before completing repairs. The blame fell on the boys. About the same time a girl, who had imbibed too much whisky and whom the gang would not allow in its quarters, decided that she was a Carrie Nation and thrust her hand through four or five of the great window panes encircling the old saloon. Thus, without fault on their part, the gang was placed in a very bad light, and much hard work was necessitated by the sponsor before this was ironed out with the landlord. Without his help, of course, the gang would have been held responsible by the police and kicked out by the landlord. Many real-estate men will not rent quarters to clubs, unless our sponsors intervene for them.

Our next step is toward the socialization of the gang itself. Sitting in a stuffy old clubroom, playing cards night after night, soon becomes tiresome. Our sponsors introduce games such as

billiards and ping-pong, and district leagues are made up for the benefit of the several clubs in the neighborhood. Some clubs have weight lifting, handball, and so on, while camping, boat riding and bowling are features for the entire brotherhood. While he is not directly responsible for the direction of the athletic program, the sponsor sees that his club is represented in basketball, baseball, and soccer leagues of the general organization. There are enough of these leagues to keep the boys busy throughout the year. Good sportsmanship is one result of this direction of athletics. The Little Caesars, for instance, last year played several ineligible men on their baseball team. This they did unwittingly and when they discovered it, wrote a special letter of apology to all of the clubs and voluntarily forfeited all the games in which these individuals played. It is not a secret that many of these gangs, inviting other gangs to visit them, may have a beer keg in their kitchen, with sandwiches and other refreshments. Many of our gangs are Italians whose fathers and mothers visit on these special occasions, and the boys behave as in their own homes, and unless there is intemperance, we are not trying to change their national habits.

It is an easy step from athletics to the second phase, social activities. Frequently these social contacts are the only ones at the disposal of these gangs. The social program is stressed as a means of breaking down intolerance. Within the original gang itself are the seeds of discord—little groupings, cliques, personal antagonisms, which grow into disturbances serious enough to kill nine out of ten unsponsored gangs. The social activities within the club wipe out these difficulties, and the group becomes a unit. They must also break down the jealousy and antagonism between one gang and another. This also we have been able to do. The next step is naturally to break down antagonism of all of these groups toward the other social classes. The thousand young men in this district are favorably disposed toward the business and professional men of our city. They have fraternized with them in their clubs, have heard them speak, and have a sense of fellowship with many of our leading citizens. Small wonder that in appreciation of our organization for its friendship, they place the red triangle in a conspicuous place in the clubroom. These young men, we believe, are our very best members.

The programs are greatly varied according to the interest of the group and abilities of the leader. They all have in common, however, as a basic interest, the athletic program, parliamentary procedure, programs of public speaking as well as outside speakers, socials, educational activities, group visits, educational talks, and they also carry on a great deal of personal work for individual members as the need arises.

In the early days we had much difficulty in winning over the confidence of the average "street-corner" gang. After a while the successful athletic program and the large numbers of friends that the boys made through connection with our association had its effect. Some gangs were asking for admission, but we did not make this easy for them. As the news of the work spread, police officials turned to us for assistance. Now we continuously have a waiting list of gangs desiring to begin clubs. The average club includes about 20 to 25 members. The leader and each member is keenly alive to the responsibility the club has to each member.

The source of much of a gang's difficulty lies in its lack of education. Often they will average only a sixth- or seventh-grade development. Some will make use of night school; but few continue, as they feel embarrassed by the difference of education between them and the majority of the scholars. Attendance also requires carfare which these gangs do not have, particularly as at least 50 per cent of their numbers are unemployed during difficult years. We have found that the very best possible night school for these boys lies in the club itself, with their beloved sponsor acting as teacher. One club, the Hogans, eight years ago accepted a very fine business man of this city as their sponsor. These boys are now all working, each in a suitable business or profession, entirely through the efforts of their sponsor. These boys have become quiet and dignified. In fact, they have grown almost into the image of their sponsor who for a period of eight years made this gang a major interest. Educational pictures and lectures of many varieties are made possible to these clubs through our general organization and are presented to them and to parents in their own clubrooms.

Practically no scientific knowledge is possessed by these gangs on the venereal diseases, how they are acquired or treated. As a very important part of the educational program a few selected

men are sent among these groups. We believe this is worth while for all of the clubs. The doctors among our sponsors encourage this program, although very often it means extra work for them.

Budgeting expenses, month by month, forms another important phase of the educational program. Without this experience, equipment for athletics could not be purchased. There is no finer way of setting a club's house in order than by teaching them the intricacies of a balanced budget. The street-corner gang knows nothing of this, which gives self-respect, confidence, and ability to move forward intelligently.

Whether we agree or not, these boys and young men crave the idealistic and spiritual no matter what religion they and their parents adhere to. The challenge that "I am my brother's keeper," has a deep significance to most of these gangs. Does a member need a suit or a pair of shoes as he tramps the streets looking for a job? He gets it from the club, and repays when his financial condition permits. If a member dies they desire no short ceremony but a ritual significant for their members directed by the entire organization.

One of our oldest clubs boastfully announced for many months its superiority of program, membership, and financial strength. Their heads are hung in shame today because their treasurer has not been faithful to his trust. They can regain the bank balance but their pride has been hurt. Of their own accord they held a trial, found the defendant guilty, but also found themselves guilty—equally guilty of negligence. They have arrived at the conclusion that the lack of a more definite spiritual content in their program was responsible for their dilemma. "We did not go deeply enough," they said. And this, my friends, from boys of nine nationalities with as many religions. No, it is not enough to emphasize the educational, social, and physical. There is something deeper in the obligations of brotherhood. We call it the spiritual. This very club has organized at least four clubs of smaller boys. The leader taken from the older club has only recently been naturalized. So intent is he on his work and responsibilities that the little boys have confided in him. One little fellow during the Christmas season acknowledged before the entire club that he had been pilfering a grocer's cash register regularly for show money but that he was discontinuing it on

account of his affiliation with this wonderful brotherhood of young men.

Christmas morning of 1933 found one of our clubs entertaining 80 little children in their clubhouse. Each was given a reconditioned toy on which the boys had worked. Many of the members of this club were unable to have a Christmas dinner of their own and a year previous were members of a gang which the people of this community felt was hopeless.

So day by day the world of the gang grows larger when it has the friendly counsel of a sponsor. He is continually interpreting new opportunities and increasing the interest of his group. The substitution of athletics, social and educational programs, converts energy into more useful lines of endeavor, hope springs out afresh, pessimism disappears, and America spells opportunity. When a competition was held among the clubs for the best name for our local publication, they unanimously chose the word "Opportunity." For years now our little paper has gone out to its thousand members under the very realistic name, "Opportunity." Thus is despair changed into hope, and a humdrum existence into one throbbing with possibilities.

Our American institutions become intelligible for the first time to many a boy and his gang. He hears a talk by a representative of the Young Men's Division of the Chamber of Commerce and receives a definite impression of the type of men who will soon be running the city's business. He is invited by these young men to attend the Chamber of Commerce meetings and his own self-respect grows in proportion to these new contacts.

Recently the Lions Club entertained 25 gang presidents at one of their regular weekly meetings. Each president sat alongside of some business executive. For weeks afterwards, the clubs were hearing about this great experience and the new friends which the club presidents made among men whose names are seen frequently in the newspaper.

Our city government, the federal government, educational institutions, business and the professions form the background of our speakers' list. The interpretation of Americanism is under way through a man-to-boy contact. We do not believe that any man in the city of St. Louis is too big to spend an evening, occasionally or regularly, with the youth of our great city. Although the editors of our great newspapers are acquainted

with our work and willing to give it adequate publicity, we find that it is not wise to advertise our program through any other medium than the constant visitation of these groups each week by men whom we are able to take down in our cars. To the newspaper reporter each club is a big story and it is impossible for him to describe his experiences in lesser terms than superlatives. The gang, however, is quick to resent any intimation that work is being done for them. They want the world to know, however, that the benches, tables, and other furniture which they make for their own clubhouse are the best in the city and that their club will rank as high as any other organization of its kind. They have a pride in their accomplishments and believe firmly that they are a part now of our American life.

The two following cases illustrate how our gangs are found and directed into constructive channels:

*Case I.* Take the B.J's., for example. My partner found them one cold February evening between the railroad tracks and the river in a one-room brick building, iron shuttered, with no ray of light visible, only the sounds of a radio rewarding his search. Resentful and suspicious the six young men blocked the door to him, finally consenting to admit him. After repeated visits they wrote us: "We have thought this thing over very carefully. Come down Monday night. We will try anything once."

We might have called this a good club once, organized for social purposes but now rapidly decreasing in members. A sense of frustration was pushing it into the class of indifference. They had originally rented this building and completely renovated it with hours of hard work. This first phase kept them interested for a while. We found them in the second phase with nothing to do. Their president said to us: "We can hardly believe that a fellow in the West End gives a damn about us. We work on hinges all day long, come here in the evening, sit and play cards until we just get so tired of everything we sit and do nothing. If you can bring us speakers, someone to tell us something, it will be wonderful." The earnestness of such a plea is quite effective.

The first sponsor of this group struggled heroically to maintain his leadership against the opposition of a college-graduate communist who challenged his sincerity. The sponsor won by a hair's breadth after calling for a showdown in allegiance and walking out. Messengers overtook him as he was crossing the last railroad track, turning defeat into victory.

The present sponsor of these young Polish men from sixteen to twenty-five is himself a young man about twenty-five, employed by the



Anheuser-Busch Brewery, a member of the Chamber of Commerce, and of the speakers' committee for the entire group of our 40 clubs. No longer indifferent, with 25 members, this originally good club has not gone bad nor gone out, but now has much game equipment, a night school, excellent parliamentary behavior, and a pride in its sponsor and members.

*Case II.* Now the casual observer would rate the Night Hawks as a bad gang, but the police captain of this district had hope for this group. He appealed to us to try our hand with a gang of both boys and girls which was being reported to him repeatedly as bad, with a ruffian program running far into the night.

Our club organizer was dropped from the squad car a block or so away by the sergeant. On a corner against the railroad tracks he found an old saloon, unused save by the gang. At this moment they crowded the place. Being a rough and ready man himself, the organizer pushed his way in. The gang's membership numbered about 25, averaging nineteen years of age. They were not easily won even on the athletic program, but consented to another visit from our representative. It was not long before this gang had two clubs, one for boys and one for girls, each with an older sponsor, using the same saloon for headquarters. Some of these members, of course, had records. In the sixteen months since reorganization only one has been apprehended and effort was made to have him return the stolen car. The club has disavowed his membership and kept its record clean. Another club has developed from this parent group. It comprises those members who think the original group is not progressing rapidly enough, so now we have two boys' clubs and a girls' club under leadership.

We have not established an auditing system of success and failure. We know, however, from practical experience, what gives good results and what does not. For instance, we know that to encourage the boys to be independent in their thinking, acting, and finance, is essential and that help in the form of charity is ruinous. We also know that to drag them miles away toward an institution or building is illogical and that the natural grouping is valuable. We know also that in beginning our work with a gang, we cannot superimpose a program but must begin where we find them, and through slow educational processes develop them to the ideals of the leader, and of the other clubs with whom they will associate. We also know that these boys cannot be preached at. For instance, one of the clubs on a week-end camping trip had among its members a fellow who bought a shotgun and on one moonlight night blew out all the

window lights of the local school-house. When the boys returned the leader went to this young man's home and explained to the parents what he had done. Much to his disgust they sided with the boy and refused to cooperate. It was a cold night in January so the leader took off his hat and coat, sat down at the stove telling the parents he intended to stay there until they had paid for the broken window. After much cursing from the bedroom where the man and his wife were trying to go to sleep, they finally sent out a five-dollar bill to the waiting leader. How the parents and the boy solved this difficulty later is another story.

We know also that discipline stays within a group and that the leader must get the cooperation of an entire club in disciplining the recalcitrant members. The Night Hawks were turned over to us by the police. They had a bad reputation in the neighborhood and were composed of both boys and girls. Quite a few had records. Upon affiliating with our brotherhoods their misconduct ceased. With broken bats and scarcity of gloves, they have several times won the Brotherhood Baseball Championship. Through them many other gangs have been brought into the organization. Boys have been saved who were "framed" by regular criminals, and former members who were in the penitentiaries have been paroled to this office successfully. Then there was the Souldard Club. Fifteen members of this brotherhood, most of them now young men, are sponsors of three or four other boys' clubs in their neighborhood.

We have no plan for the systematic gathering of facts about the effectiveness of this work. While we cannot prove that we are preventing delinquency, we can, however, show progress in such ways as this:

1. Gangs with records of arrests and openly violating laws when first brought to our attention, discontinue these acts against the social order after a period of a few months. Although they are located in the center of delinquency areas, seldom are any of these 800 to 1,000 club members in any difficulty with the local authorities.

2. During recent years these clubs, as the members develop into young manhood, organize their younger brothers into similar clubs, and provide leadership, allowing them the use of their own club headquarters at a very nominal fee or none at all. One

club, for instance, in this manner will capture seven or eight gangs in as many years and incorporate them within the general fellowship of the organization. We no longer have a vicious circle of little fellows emulating the tougher gang and drawing its strength from that source.

3. Local support is strong. Capable citizens of St. Louis who spend anywhere from one to three nights a week in sponsoring these groups believe thoroughly in directing boys' and young men's activities away from the gang type to the club type. Others who visit these clubs by scores during the year use superlatives in their comments. We have never found any difficulty in raising money for this kind of work.

## Chapter XXV

### PHILADELPHIA BOYS' CLUB AND SETTLEMENT PROJECT

ROBERT C. TABER\*

#### *Boys' Club and Settlement Representative*

An experiment in the field of juvenile delinquency was launched in Philadelphia in June, 1933. It began as a liaison function between the Juvenile Court and the Boys' Clubs and Settlements. The group-work agencies had long felt the need for a close tie-up with the Court in order that they might assume a more active responsibility toward the ever-increasing number of boys from their neighborhoods who were passing through the Juvenile Court. They recognized the need of reaching the offender at the first sign of delinquency when he could be helped more readily than if he were fully embarked on a delinquent career. But, without a working relationship with the Court, they were unable to approach the problem. Accordingly, a committee representing the Boys' Clubs and Settlements was formed under the sponsorship of the Council of Social Agencies with the purpose of exploring the possibilities of establishing a tie-up with the Court. The judge of the Juvenile Court<sup>1</sup> was approached by the committee and he readily gave his cooperation. Arrangements were made for the daily referral of the boys whose cases had been dismissed at the preliminary hearings. It was agreed that a representative should be employed by the committee to serve in the capacity of liaison officer between the Juvenile Court and the Boys' Clubs and Settlements.

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<sup>1</sup> The Honorable Charles L. Brown.

The preliminary hearings represent the first step in the processes of the Juvenile Court as it is set up in Philadelphia. As soon as a boy is arrested he is taken to the House of Detention. If the offense is of a minor nature, his parents are notified and he is released when they call for him. He is then required to appear on the following day for a hearing. In some cases the boy is held in the House of Detention until the hearing has taken place. The hearings are conducted by two referees in an informal manner, and they decide whether the case is to be dismissed or held over for the more formal court. Of the cases reviewed at the House of Detention, approximately one-third are scheduled for a further hearing before the judge. The committee had found, upon investigation, that nearly 4,000 cases were dismissed each year at the preliminary hearings. Since, in most cases, no preliminary investigation is made before the hearing and there is no follow-up after the hearing, this seemed a fruitful area in which the liaison officer might operate.

The committee, originally composed of members of the boards of directors and the heads of six different recreation centers, was augmented by the executive secretary of the Council of Social Agencies, the chief of social service of the Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic, and the superintendent of the Department of School Extension of the Philadelphia Board of Education.

The Boys' Club and Settlement Representative is the name given to the worker selected to serve in the liaison capacity between the Juvenile Court and these agencies.

The work was financed by a special grant made by the trustees of the Welfare Federation of Philadelphia<sup>2</sup> for a period of six months. At the end of that time another grant was made for the ensuing year. In December, 1934, the budget was included in that of the Council of Social Agencies in their grant from the Federation. It is just large enough to maintain the representative and his secretary and to furnish the supplies required.

For the first seven months, it was the task of the Boys' Club and Settlement Representative to visit the boys referred from the preliminary hearings at the House of Detention and to introduce them personally to a staff member of the recreation center in his neighborhood. The responsibility of his continued attendance at the center then rested with the members of the staff

<sup>2</sup> Now the Community Fund of Philadelphia and Vicinity.

of that organization. Thirty-four recreation centers were cooperating and the number of boys discharged at the preliminary hearings who came from the various neighborhoods of these clubs averaged about one hundred a month. The volume of cases made it impossible for the representative to make more than the initial visit. The recreation centers, on the other hand, did not have personnel sufficient to keep in active touch with these boys and to see that they utilized the resources placed at their disposal. Many of the boys would attend the center a few times and then drop out. Some never returned after having been introduced, and those having problems of a more serious nature were not able to obtain the individual help which they needed. The experiment had seemingly arrived at an impasse. Obviously, it was not a one-man job.

Fortunately, in the latter part of January, 1934, the Civil Works Administration expanded the number of projects for "white-collar workers." Through the efforts of the Emergency Education Council, which had planned a comprehensive program of recreation and education, thirty C.W.A. workers were assigned to this experiment. With the Representative acting as director, the work was set up on the basis of group and individual contact. Personnel was carefully selected and each man was assigned to one or more of the thirty-four cooperating agencies, depending on the number of boys who had been assigned to that particular organization. The worker's role was a dual one: he conducted activities at the center as part of his general program, and he visited the homes of the boys referred to his organization by the liaison officer, with a view to enlisting their interest in the activities program.

It is clearly recognized that the experiment could be carried out more effectively if the staff were fully trained in social work. Although limitations were placed upon it by the employment of relatively untrained workers, the emergency was met; and despite the staff limitations, the work has been of very real value.<sup>3</sup>

With the expansion of the work and the development of a more individual approach, the matter of supervision of the

<sup>3</sup> The work was interrupted for two weeks at the termination of the C.W.A. program. On May 15, the project was continued by the Local Works Division, the Emergency Education Council again having endorsed the project's continuation in order to further explore its possibilities.

workers became increasingly important. From the very beginning, the training of the men for this specialized work has been regarded as of the greatest importance. A two-hour staff conference which served as a clearing ground for the problems arising in the field work has been held each week. Case material as well as group situations were presented for discussion with a view toward enabling the worker to handle more effectively the problems involved in a specific situation, as well as toward developing his understanding of people in general. Speakers from the various fields of social work were brought in to give their points of view.

The general staff conference, however, did not lend itself easily to the discussion of the bulk of individual problems which might arise in the carrying of specific cases. Then, too, the workers, relatively untrained as they were, had such a diversity of backgrounds that it was difficult to adjust the program of a group conference to the individual training needs of each worker. This need for a more individualized program of supervision, however, could not be met until there was promise of more stability than was possible under the Local Works Division set-up. The passing of the Federal Works Relief Bill seemed to bring with it some such promise, and a plan for regional supervision was inaugurated in April, 1935.

This plan divides the recreation center areas into two districts with a supervisor in charge of each. Nine of the recreation centers in the two districts are for Negro children only, and a third supervisor is in charge of these centers. The plan provides for an individual weekly conference of each worker with his supervisor, as well as individual conferences of the supervisors themselves with the director. The weekly staff conference has been continued, and to this has been added the supervisors' conference. At the latter, problems and information are pooled, thereby aiding materially in bringing to light the more outstanding problems which can be brought before the general staff conference for discussion.

The supervisory set-up had brought about a more flexible organization and a better integration of the services. The close supervision of each worker has made for a more effective approach to the various problems with which he is confronted. It has

strengthened the relationship with the cooperating agencies. A more closely knit organization has been the result.

Problems arising in group activities are discussed at some length at the regular staff conference. However, the workers have found that their experience with groups under the direction of a trained recreation worker provides the most valuable training in group-work techniques. Best results have been obtained in agencies where they have been included as members of the regular organization; where they have been invited to attend weekly staff meetings and to confer with the director at regular intervals. They then become thoroughly acquainted with the philosophy and the methods of the group agency with which they are working.

Another very important part of the organizational set-up has been the newly created committee representing the Philadelphia Association of Settlements. It will function as a clearing house for the various questions which arise in connection with group-work activities; such as, the relationship of the project workers to the other members of the staff of the settlements; their approach to the neighborhood problems; the closer integration of case and group work; how the project workers may play a more effective part in the settlement's program; how the activities may be revamped to meet the needs of these new members. All this is an effort to bring about a well-rounded approach to the problems presented by delinquent boys.

It is already apparent that when the experiment was first begun, it was concerned largely with effecting a tie-up of delinquent boys with recreation centers. It was felt that if a wholesome outlet is provided for the boys who are discharged from preliminary hearings, there would be less occasion for them to become involved in further delinquency. As the work developed, however, experience showed that the use of group-work facilities alone was not adequate if the immediate problems of many of the boys were to be met. As a result, the work was expanded to include the use of case-work facilities as well. It became clear that not all boys could be helped through participation in group recreational activities.

Of course, for a goodly number of children supervised recreation plays an important part in their development. It may offer a



helpful experience which is lacking in their home or school life. It would be next to impossible to list all the values that a child may derive from a recreation center, but I would like to emphasize two outstanding values in terms of personality development:

1. Play can be a satisfying experience for the individual. I believe that it is accepted generally that play is essential for all of us. This is especially true of the growing child, as a great part of his living centers around play. He expresses himself through it as the adult expresses himself through his job and social life. We all have fundamental needs which we seek to express in one way or another. For the child, the recreation center is frequently an important area. Here he may express his desire to create, as in music, dancing, and handicraft. He has considerable opportunity to assert himself as a person. For example, he may achieve a sense of power by excelling in athletics, or he may gain prestige through his ability in dramatics. He may explore new relationships and new activities and thereby broaden his interests. He may join an organized group where he can get the sense of "belonging." A child often adds to his personal security by finding a place for himself in a group. The companionship of the group and its respect for him are meaningful. He enjoys sharing things and feeling himself to be a part of the group.

2. The recreation center affords a socializing experience. It provides quite a different education from that of the classroom, in that the child is more nearly thrown upon his own devices. In the classroom of the average school, he finds himself one of a comparatively large number. The size of the class and the routine required necessitate a degree of regulation which is apt to submerge him within the group unless he is an outstanding individual. Moreover, he is compelled to attend school, and should he not like it he must do what he can to make the best of it. At the recreation center, on the other hand, he has more control over his relationship to others. He attends of his own free will, and if he chooses to do so he can drop out. Since he does have his choice, he is forced to decide for himself what he is willing to sacrifice by way of his own desires so that he may maintain his position within the group. He learns for himself that he cannot have everything his own way. Eventually, he finds out what he can do and still be acceptable to the group. He learns to find freedom within conformity by expressing him-

self and yet respecting the interests and feelings of those with whom he mingles. Through the group experience he may find a balance that makes it possible for him to get along more easily with other people.

A recreation center which offers a valuable play opportunity and not merely the chance to go through the motions of play can make a tremendous contribution to the development of a child. It therefore becomes an important part of a crime-prevention program. It does more than "keep him off the street." In many cases it actually cuts across the factors which are contributing to his delinquency and, as a result, plays a very real part in his adjustment.

Many young delinquents are in need of highly individualized attention, however. The multiplicity of factors contributing to their delinquency require careful study. As a result of the committee's experience, its point of view has been modified to include not only the group recreational activities but careful case work with those boys who need it.

At present the primary concern of the experiment is to meet the child and his problem on a basis which is acceptable and helpful to him. His interests and welfare are looked upon as paramount. Reducing the number of arrests, therefore, becomes the indirect result rather than the main goal. Delinquent behavior generally is recognized as a symptom—just as a skin rash may be a symptom of an underlying disorder. Unless the causes lying back of the behavior are considered, the approach to the problem can be regarded only as superficial. For example, if no attempt is made to understand the roots of the difficulty, the offender may very well use his relationship with a group at the recreation center as another way of compensating for his dissatisfaction. In short, his delinquency carries over into the recreation center. Consequently, it is necessary that the relation of each boy to his given situation be studied. It is recognized that each boy presents an individual problem and that whatever may be done must be worked out in terms of his personal needs, abilities, and background. The worker is careful not to impose himself upon the boy or his family. He attempts to help the boy work out his problem in his own way and at his own pace.

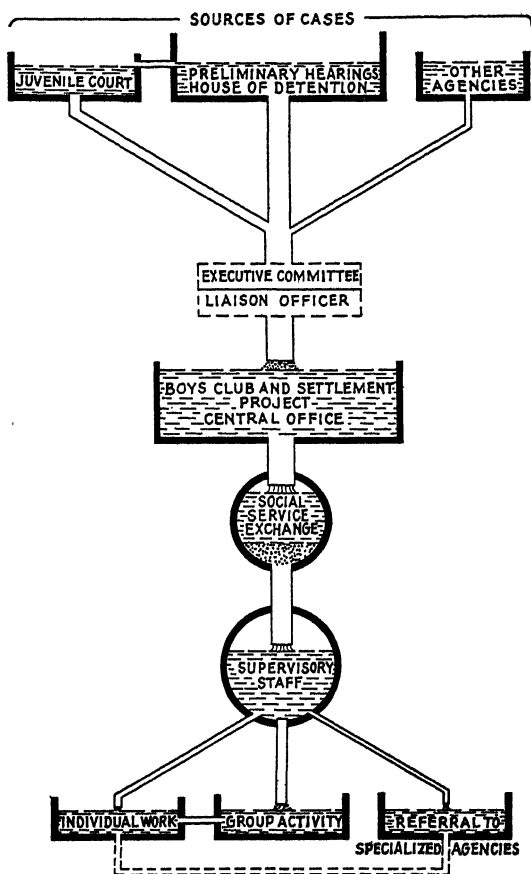
For instance, we have found that a number of boys simply do not respond to group recreation and find more satisfying outlets in other ways. They are not interested in supervised play and prefer their own activities to those offered by a recreation center. Other boys, though interested in becoming members of organized play groups, find themselves unable to adjust to the demands of a group relationship. They are obviously uncomfortable in a group and require the help of a case worker before they can make the necessary adjustment. There are other boys, of course, who readily become interested in group activities but what the recreation center has to offer does not bear directly on their problems. Participation in group activities can seldom meet a problem which is deeply rooted in the home or school situation. For instance, the satisfaction that a boy may derive from his affiliation with a settlement-house may lighten the pressure brought upon him at home, but it does not meet the problem adequately. He, usually, will need specialized help on an individual basis.

Although the services of the project are, for the most part, centered around the boy and his problem, there has been a growing recognition of the need of working with parents. We are fully aware of the importance of helping parents to find a free and satisfactory relationship with their children. Here again this need can usually best be met on an individual basis.

It was in order to meet these situations more effectively that the work has been expanded to include both group- and case-work facilities. Brief summaries which illustrate the ways in which these two approaches are used will be found later in this chapter.

At the outset of the experiment, the only source of cases was the preliminary hearings at the House of Detention. As the services have become known, other agencies have referred cases. During the past year, 34 such cases were accepted from the schools, the S.P.C.C., Elliott House, County Relief Board, and so on. The Juvenile Court, too, has made greater use of the project. During the first year, the "formal court" had referred fewer than ten cases. In September, 1934, the judge started the regular practice of referring cases. By August 1, 1935, this number had reached 146. The accompanying diagram gives a picture of the functional relationships which have been established between the Boys' Club and Settlement committee and the referring agencies.

## DIAGRAM OF FUNCTIONAL RELATIONSHIPS



The cases are received as follows: A member of the staff calls at the House of Detention each morning for the disposition sheets of the day before. On these sheets are the name of the boy, age, color, school, grade, names of parents, address, the charge, and the disposition. The "discharged" cases are spotted on a map of the city, and if the boys live within a mile of a cooperating recreation center they are accepted, providing they are not already under the jurisdiction of another agency. These new cases are then assigned to the men by their supervisors.

A staff member also attends the weekly session of the "formal court." Here he is prepared to give information on those boys

known to the project who have come before the Court as the result of a rearrest. Oftentimes the Court will officially refer these boys for further supervision on the basis of the information given. The worker also is prepared to receive new cases. When a boy is referred by the Court, the judge calls the worker to the bar and introduces him to the boy and his family. The worker then makes arrangements after the hearing for visiting them. The Court provides an individual summary for each of the cases referred and they are assigned to the more skilled workers, which makes it possible for these to be carried on a more intensive basis.

When a case is referred by a social agency, the worker to whom the case is to be assigned has a conference with that agency. If we are equipped to meet the service requested by the referring agency, the case is accepted. The pressure of the work has made it necessary to limit the number of cases from this source, however. When a case is received, it is first cleared through the Social Service Exchange for registrations. If the family is known to other agencies, an inquiry is made of them as to the present status of the case, and for any other information that may be helpful in orienting the worker. The case is not accepted where another agency is already active unless specific approval is received. If the family lives in the neighborhood of one of the cooperating agencies, the worker confers with the head of that agency in an effort to get any information that they may have regarding the family.

The worker's initial contact is made by a visit to the home of the boy. To those boys whose cases have been "adjusted" at the preliminary hearings, the worker usually introduces himself as representing the neighborhood center. The name of the House of Detention is seldom used in approaching these boys, as it has been found not to be conducive to a free and easy relationship with them. Since the worker has previously talked with the director of the settlement or club and has checked their files, he knows the present status of the boy's affiliation with the organization. This makes it possible for him to visit just as any other staff member would visit.

On the other hand, when a case has been referred by the Court or by another social agency, the approach can be more direct since the stage has been set for the new worker. When a boy is referred by the Court, it is done in his presence with an expla-

nation by the judge and he is aware of the fact that the visit has been occasioned by his Court experience. The child who has been referred by another social agency has also been given an explanation. In such instances the child usually feels freer to talk about his difficulties with the worker and, therefore, is apt to get more direct help with his problems.

During the initial visit, the worker explains the services of the project. He speaks of the recreation facilities available to the boy but brings no pressure upon him to become a member since the worker fully respects whatever attitude the boy may have toward organized groups. The worker also makes it clear that the services are not confined to participation in recreational activities. If he did confine himself to this and the boy was not interested in group activities there would be no basis for further visiting. He therefore suggests that he will visit from time to time if the boy is willing. This makes it possible for the worker to establish a rapport with the boy who is made to feel that the worker has not come to "make him do something." What happens from that point depends upon the skill of the worker and the need the boy may have for help.

There is no clear-cut procedure after this first visit. The worker talks over the case with his supervisor from time to time in an effort to clarify the factors in the situation and to enable him to meet the needs of the particular boy. The direction which the case will take cannot be predetermined. Perhaps the different techniques can best be illustrated by case material:

*Case I.* John seemed to be able to make a very real use of his relationship with the settlement in his neighborhood. The following material is taken from the settlement's record of its contact with the boy before he came to our attention:

It was in the fall of 1928 when John first came to the settlement. His older sister was a regular attendant, and later his two younger brothers became members. The interests of these children were never toward the more formal organized group activities of the playground, and more skill was needed in meeting their individual needs.

John seemed to have more difficulty orienting himself than did most of the boys. He didn't fit well in groups. The activity that first encouraged him to attend regularly was the village store—a play project. His responsibility as a storekeeper held his interest and brought him into a natural relationship with other villagers without the tension of competitive sports. He was unwilling at first to share in athletic

programs requiring team work, but he later played on one of the baseball teams. His greatest interest, however, was in shop. The first thing he made was a bread board. He wanted the play counselor to visit his home and see how his mother was using it. So the first contact with his parents was made.

John liked activities in which he took the principal part. For instance in athletics, he liked track meets best because he could run a race all by himself, and not just be a member of the team. He liked pet shows—he could collect more pets and a bigger variety than any other two boys in the neighborhood. On camping trips he entertained the rest of the party with weird and imaginative tales.

At the time we first knew the family, the father was employed regularly and the family lived a little above the average of the rest of the neighborhood. His mother said that John never played well with other children, and she was quite pleased with his interest in the playground.

For about four years, John's interest and attendance at the playground and winter indoor activities was quite regular. But about the time his father lost his job the whole family moved down in the basement of their house and rented the other rooms to seamen.

John's contact with the seamen was not of a particularly wholesome nature. He would get money from them which he would spend at the movies, and later his mother started to give him money so he could go to the movies and keep away from the roomers. His attendance at the playground became less regular, and his difficulties at school increased. Finally, he was sent to a special school, which took him quite a way from the settlement.

From the time of the change in schools, John was more difficult. He had a deep sense of injustice. First, he felt that the teachers "had it in for him"; then that the police watched the special-school boys more closely. Finally, the parents began criticizing him for being in a special school.\*

After John's first contact with the police, his parents took the attitude that he wasn't of much account, and they made this plain to him. As he lost the sense of his parents' approval, he became a pretty easy subject for the seamen and the older boys of the neighborhood south of us.

About this time, the leader of the storekeepers and the activities left our organization, and John drifted away. There were vague reports that John was in trouble, but none found time to visit his home, nor did we realize that he was getting more and more involved with bad companions until his arrest for driving a car without a license.

It was this arrest which brought him to our attention. He was then fourteen years of age, attending a special school. His I.Q. was rated at

\* See Chapter XI, a Montefiore Special School for Problem Boys.—EDITORS' NOTE.

75. The psychologist at the court had made the following statement: "His intelligence is more adequate than his character for he is quite undisciplined and he has no respect for any authority and yet he is cowardly, taking no responsibility for his conduct, blaming the other boy for all of his difficulties." He lived in a congested neighborhood near the river front. His delinquency started back in 1929 when he was arrested for "malicious mischief." He was not arrested again until July, 1932, when he was brought in on the same charge. Nearly two years had elapsed when in February of 1934 he was arrested for "disorderly conduct." In May he was charged with "forced entry and an attempt to commit a felony." In June he was arrested for "disorderly conduct" and again in July for the "violation of the motor vehicle code." One can readily see that his offenses were becoming more frequent and more serious. He had been arrested six times in five years and four of the offenses occurred during six months of 1934.

When the worker first visited John's home, he invited John to renew his membership at the settlement. His mother, who had come to the point where she didn't trust him out of her sight, objected by saying, "I don't want my boy to go there. Only bad boys go to that place." She knew that John was easily led and she had come to distrust any organization where she knew John would come into contact with other boys. The worker suggested that he would be willing to call for John the first few times that he attended so that she would be assured that he actually got there. It was not long before she felt she could trust John and he came to the playground regularly. He seldom took any part in the activities but spent most of his time standing on the sidelines or talking with the worker. When cold weather set in, the activities were moved into the building. The worker started his carpentry shop (he not only visits the delinquent boys assigned to this settlement but conducts classes there as well). John came to the shop. The first day he just looked on but the second day he swept the floor and straightened the tool room.

In the neighborhood he was known as "Goofy John" and he rather successfully lived up to his reputation. The boys would get him to upset the crates of chickens that were piled high in the market. One time they persuaded him to untie a good-sized tugboat that was docked at the wharf. He got his sense of power through doing these destructive things. He considered himself a sort of hero for his pranks and his companions "egged" him on. In his home, he was distrusted and looked down upon for being transferred to a special school for backward children. All of his efforts were belittled and the family made fun of him.

To get back to his affiliation with the settlement, John continued attending the carpentry shop. He finally asked if he might build a boat.



After scouring the neighborhood, he returned with some tin and wood with which to work. He attended the class daily and much to his surprise he found that he could make a boat that was superior to any of the others. It was his prize possession. He did not quite trust other people enough to leave his boat at the shop, so he took it home with him each day and kept it under his bed. Although the boat could not be considered a work of art, it was a very imposing model. However, far more significant than the boat itself was what it meant to John. He had found a way of expressing himself constructively instead of by knocking over chicken crates and sending boats down the river. He won a very real place for himself at the settlement and he was respected by the other boys.

To be sure, John has not reached a state of perfection but he is less apt to get into further difficulty now that he is absorbed in wholesome activities. He attends the center daily and there is no doubt that it meets a very real need for him. He has managed to keep out of the courts for more than a year. As he further explores the sense of power within himself, he is apt to become more secure as an individual. His title of "Goofy John" is not likely to represent the same threat to him that it once did.

The case of John represents one in which the recreation center played a very definite role in a boy's personality adjustment. It may be that he could have been reached in no other way. Very probably his fear of leaving the neighborhood to attend a clinic would have made it impossible for him to have seen a psychiatrist. The fact that the worker was continually in the neighborhood where John could be in touch with him on a more or less casual basis, played a large part in his taking help. He first became interested in the worker. From there his interest went to material things which served as a medium for him to assert himself without coming into conflict with the group. After he had achieved confidence in himself, he was able to become an active and responsible member of a group.

It is also clear in this case that the identification of the visitor with the settlement's program made it easier for John to take help. The worker's direct relationship with a particular recreation center has the distinct advantage that he becomes quickly known in the neighborhood as the "club visitor" and, therefore, has easy access to the homes of the boys. The worker's active participation in the recreation center's program aids in his understanding of the boy as he not only sees him individually but can

observe him in a group as well. It also makes it possible for him to orient the boy to the activities and to give him individual help as he needs it. Often it is the individual help given by the worker which serves to maintain the interest of a child who might readily have drifted away after attending once or twice.

As has been previously stated, all children do not find a group experience helpful to their immediate problem. Many will be helped more readily by a meaningful relationship with a case worker. Such is the case of James given below:

*Case II.* James is a boy of fourteen and it would seem as though the "odds have been against him" practically all his life. He was referred to us by the Court in May, 1935. The following is his background as revealed by information gathered from the Court and other agencies:

James first came to the attention of the Juvenile Court as a case of dependency at the age of eleven months. His parents had separated, and his grandmother filed a petition for his placement in a foster home. The Court committed him to the care of a child-placing agency in 1921 where he remained until 1928. During that interval the case was listed for Court on seven different occasions in an effort to locate the father so that he might contribute to the support of the child. In January of 1928, James was committed to the Department of Welfare to be turned over to his mother who had been found in Chicago. In the following May he was discharged from the Department of Welfare and was placed on probation to live with his uncle. Two months later he was placed in the care of his grandmother where he stayed for a short interval. His mother who had obtained a divorce took him to Chicago and then to Atlantic City where she deserted him. While in her care there was considerable evidence of his dissatisfaction as indicated by five arrests; once for larceny, twice for running away, and twice for incorrigibility. Finally, he was placed in a New Jersey state reform school at the age of eleven after all efforts to locate his mother had failed. The father was again located in 1934 and James was paroled from the reform school to live with his father in Philadelphia. In May, 1935, he was arrested on a charge of "breaking, entering, and larceny." He was placed on probation and referred to us for supervision.

When our worker visited James, he was found to be in a difficult situation. His father had remarried and his stepmother had two children aged fifteen and sixteen by her former marriage, and one child by the present marriage. James was finding it difficult to fit into the group as the other children had established themselves in the home while he was regarded as a "newcomer." Added to this was the friction caused by his father's occasional drinking and it was James who often bore the

brunt of his stepmother's ill feeling. It was apparent that she saw the very weaknesses in James which she found in his father, all of which made him a less acceptable member of the family. James himself had become embittered by the continuous shifting about from one member of the family to another and finally the four-year stay at the reform school. This continual shifting and the series of desertions was practically all he had ever known except for his eight years in a foster home. He felt as though no one really cared for him and he had come to be a very unhappy child. The approach to this problem did not seem to lie in the use of recreational facilities. It could best be met on a direct and individual basis. In the first place, James was too uncertain of himself to join a group. He needed the warmth and understanding that could come from a more intensive relationship with a single individual. It was necessary for some of the pent-up emotion to be released before he could feel more hopeful about life.

James responded to the worker's interest with great enthusiasm. He was apparently very ready to use individual help as he would begin looking for the worker's periodic visit long before the appointed hour. Each time he would take great pride in telling the worker of something he had done or made. The worker with his accepting and friendly attitude gave the boy a comfortable feeling and he became more confident of himself and of his relationship with the visitor. During the successive interviews, James expressed much of the ill feeling he had toward his mother and father. He would frequently speak of his mother's neglect and of how she "ran around with men." He had heard his grandmother tell, how when he was a very small baby, his mother had left him out in the baby carriage all night. He would have frozen to death had the neighbors not been awakened by his crying at 2 A.M. Another time he was almost burned to death because of her neglect. Although he could remember none of these experiences, they were none the less very real to him and he held them against his mother. He would talk of his father's drinking and how mean he could be.

After giving vent to these feelings from time to time, his interests turned to other things. He was very anxious to own a bicycle. He and his visitor talked over ways in which he might earn the money. James finally earned enough to buy one and he was very proud of it. When he took it home, his father who had been drinking a little, told him it was of no account but the next day he agreed that it wasn't such a poor buy after all. The bicycle as well as his relationship with the worker were his very own. He guarded them both carefully. The bicycle and a ten-day stay at a camp were helpful to him in that he found that he could gain satisfaction elsewhere than in his own home. He had more of a feeling for himself as apart from his family. It gave him a sense of independence and personal security. His sense of independence, accom-

panied by a change in his attitude, made him less demanding of them. Also the very fact that the worker visited him regularly and took such an interest in him brought about a different attitude toward him on the part of the family. All of these factors combined contributed much to his happiness and his capacity to make an adjustment.

Although James is still confronted with a very difficult home situation, he is freer to develop in a more normal fashion.

These two cases of John and James represent the use of group- and case-work facilities. Frequently, both are used simultaneously. The recreation center with its group activities serves as an outlet for a boy's interests, and the relationship with the worker on an individual basis helps with his immediate problem.

One of the important phases of the work is referral to social agencies of cases in which very specialized help is needed. Frequently, we are confronted with a problem which we are not equipped to handle. In such an event, we accept our own limitations and attempt to refer the child to the agency which is best equipped to meet his needs. Referral of a case to another agency is at best difficult. As the technique of referral is developed, however, an increasing number of cases will be turned over to other agencies for specialized help.

Whenever a child has a deep-rooted emotional problem, for example, he is referred to the Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic where the help of a psychiatrist in the understanding and treatment of his difficulties is available. If he is not interested in using the clinic, the case is sometimes carried by the clinic on a consultation basis. The worker continues his contact with the boy and has periodic conferences with the staff member of the clinic who acts in an advisory capacity. Although this method is not as satisfactory as the actual referral of the child to the clinic, it has proved helpful in a limited number of cases.

With the recognition that the emotional problems of parents often contribute to the delinquency of their children, a working relationship has been established with the Family Society of Philadelphia in an effort to meet this need. In many instances, the worker has found it possible to help both the parents and the boy without impairing the relationship with him. This is the unusual case however. If the parents are willing, a Family Society visitor is called in to work with them while our worker

continues with the boy. This would seem to be the preferable arrangement, especially where the child is unusually conscious of the pressure exerted upon him by his parents. If our worker attempts to see the parents regularly, the boy is apt to identify him with their attitude of restriction and condemnation, thereby endangering the friendly relationship which should exist between the boy and the worker.

There is no set time for the closing of a case. Some may be carried for a year or more while others will be closed after one or two visits. Before a case is closed the worker talks it over with his supervisor. Previous to January, 1935, cases were closed if the boy had been well absorbed into a recreation center. If a child attended a center regularly, his case was closed as a "successful club referral." However, this basis provided no real criterion with respect to the problem involved, as a child might attend a center very regularly but still continue in his delinquency. As a result, a new basis for closing cases was inaugurated, which places the emphasis on the child's total adjustment rather than on his affiliation with a recreation center. The three major classifications now utilized in terminating the service to a boy are as follows:

*a. No problem apparent:* Roughly this manner of closing a case indicates that there has been no outstanding problem. The offense has been one of a minor or accidental nature and the case has not required an intensive contact. At the time of closing, there has been no special set of circumstances which would lead the worker to believe that further arrest was likely. The worker indicates whether or not he has been successful in providing recreational opportunities for the boy.

*b. Closed with progress:* This classification points out that there was a definite problem present when the boy was referred to us; and that he has made a definite adjustment which could be attributed either to the group relationship or to the individual help of the worker. The case represents one which has been carried more intensively, one in which the boy has noticeably responded to our services and has been helped in working through his difficulties.

*c. Closed without progress:* A case closed in this manner is one in which a definite problem remains at the time of closing. In many instances the boy has not responded to the services or

has been unable to take help. Since he has control over what he will or will not do, the problem remains beyond the reach of the worker. It would seem best in such instances to accept our limitations and close the case. Often, boys with whom we have worked for a considerable length of time will persist in their delinquency so that the Court feels it wisest to commit them for institutional care. Occasionally when a child seems to warrant placement in a foster home or an institution, a recommendation to that effect is made to the Court.

An attempt has been made to establish an auditing system whereby the effectiveness of the work could be measured in concrete terms. However, this has been found to be a next to impossible task because of two very significant factors. In the first place, wherever human behavior is involved, a clear-cut measuring rod of success or failure is out of the question. An individual's progress or lack of it does not lend itself easily to measurement, and this is especially true when a large number of cases are lumped together. There are so many factors which contribute to juvenile delinquency. In fact, the rate of delinquency might be said to reflect all of our social ills. And again the child's capacity for adjustment differs. There is no common base from which the measuring can take its point of departure. A single step in the growth process for one child may represent a significant hurdle while the same step for another may be of no consequence. Then too, a child may make a very definite adjustment at a given time but it does not necessarily follow that this adjustment will be of a permanent nature. The world in which he lives is dynamic. His inner reactions to his environmental life change, and similarly changes in his environmental life react upon him.

In the second place this experiment has grown very rapidly. It started with a single liaison officer, and seven months later it was a fully staffed project. Its development has been accompanied by a more inclusive philosophy. While it was first concerned largely with effecting a referral of a delinquent boy to a recreation center, it is now concerned with meeting the child's needs on an individual basis, employing both group- and case-work methods and facilities. As a result of this development, cases have been closed on a different basis since January, 1935.

Then, too, there has been a very difficult personnel problem. There have been frequent layoffs and a large turnover of the workers owing to the very nature of the made-work program.

Recognizing some of the difficulties encountered in attempting to measure the effectiveness of our work, the following figures are given. They are taken from the Second Annual Report which was presented in May, 1935. As has already been stated, previous to January, 1935, all cases were closed in terms of the child's relationship to the recreation center with which he had been affiliated. With this as a criterion of adjustment 254 cases were closed as *successful club referrals* and 190 as *unsuccessful club referrals*.

Closing a case on this basis gave little indication of the problem involved in the situation, however. In January, 1935, the new method above described of closing cases, was put into effect. The following represent the cases closed over a period of five months under the new classifications:

- 67 closed as *no problem apparent*. 30 had become members of recreation centers and 37 had not responded.
- 35 closed *with progress*. 23 had become members of recreation centers and 12 had not responded.
- 27 closed *without progress*. 4 had become members of recreation centers and 23 had not responded.
- 78 had been closed under other classifications, such as *moving out of the city, deceased*, and so on.
- 776 cases were being actively carried.

A total of 1,668 cases have been referred to the Boys' Club and Settlement Project since the beginning of the work in 1933.

A study made of the entire number of cases disclosed the following interesting figures: At the time of original contact of the Settlement Representative with the boy, 18 per cent of the boys were found to be active members of a settlement; 58 per cent had never been members of an organized group; 24 per cent had previously been members but had dropped out. A check on May 20 of both active and closed cases showed that 52 per cent had become active members, while 48 per cent had not. The percentage of active members will probably increase as the work is continued. No great importance is attached to these figures, but they are significant in so far as they are an indication of the project's influence in assisting young delinquent boys to find satisfactory group recreational activities.

The average aggregate attendance (not the number of individuals) in the activities conducted by the workers has been 4,800 per month. This number includes all children who attend the particular activity, irrespective of whether they are delinquents. The worker is careful to avoid segregation of delinquent children from the other members as it would be apt to place a stigma upon them.

During the year approximately 9,500 visits were made in connection with the supervision of the boys. Most of these were home visits, although whenever possible the worker has placed more responsibility upon the boy by having him come to the main office or to the recreation center for the interview.

Two interesting maps have been prepared as a part of the experiment. On one each arrest of a boy under sixteen years of age living in Philadelphia has been spotted according to his home address. Symbols were used to indicate whether the offender was white or colored and whether he was discharged at the preliminary hearing or held for court. The location of the cooperating recreation agencies was also spotted on this map. Using it as a basis for factual material, a second map has been made which shows the rate of juvenile delinquency among boys per census tract.

In an effort to understand the more general implications of juvenile delinquency in the city, a series of charts have been made which show the seasonal variation, the distribution with respect to color, neighborhood, type of offense, recidivism, and so on.

The figures given furnish some indication of the extent of the work and, in a general way, the results. However, the most compelling indication of the value of the experiment is to be found in the progress made by individual boys. The cases of John and James, for instance, show very definite progress. Although some boys do not respond at all, others have been helped in adjusting to difficult situations—situations which might well have led to the course of expensive and oftentimes questionable institutional care.

The work has served a definite need. This is evidenced by the increasing demand for it by the Court and other agencies. It is evidenced by the response of the boys referred from the preliminary hearings. The project, by its contacts with the boys



and their families, has helped bring to light many potentially serious problems needing attention. In a great many instances where the offense has been of a minor nature, the boy has been helped in finding a recreational outlet where the well-ordered group activity has offered a wholesome relationship with other children. The recreation center has provided an opportunity for his personal growth and the development of a satisfactory and well-balanced life, all of which have helped him to make a satisfactory adjustment. On the other hand, the individualized attention of the worker to the boy's problems has been invaluable for many of these youngsters for whom absorption into an organized recreational group was not sufficient to resolve their difficulties.

Although the project is still in the experimental stage it has demonstrated its usefulness. The increasing pressures of a complex society point toward the necessity of a more comprehensive service for both boys and girls if they are expected to make a satisfactory adjustment in their own homes and communities. This service can be more effective if it represents the combined forces of the group- and case-work fields. The individual is reached in the formative years of his development when he can take on change more readily. The group-working agencies offer a comprehensive program for the child's day-by-day recreational needs and the case-work service offers skilled individual help with temporary problems whenever the child may need it. If an individual can be helped in making an adjustment to the problems confronting him in his early development, he is more apt to develop a capacity for meeting difficult situations later in life. He therefore not only has less occasion for becoming a delinquent but, of greater importance, he is enabled to make a satisfactory adjustment to the successive demands made upon him in his social relationships.

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